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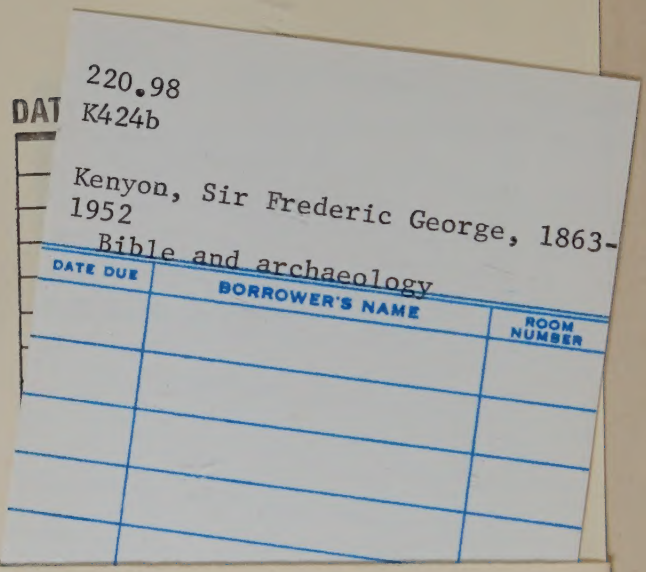

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THE BIBLE AND ARCHÆOLOGY

By SIR FREDERIC KENYON

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OUR BIBLE AND THE ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS (1895; REVISED EDITION 1939)

HANDBOOK TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT (1901; REVISED EDITION 1912)

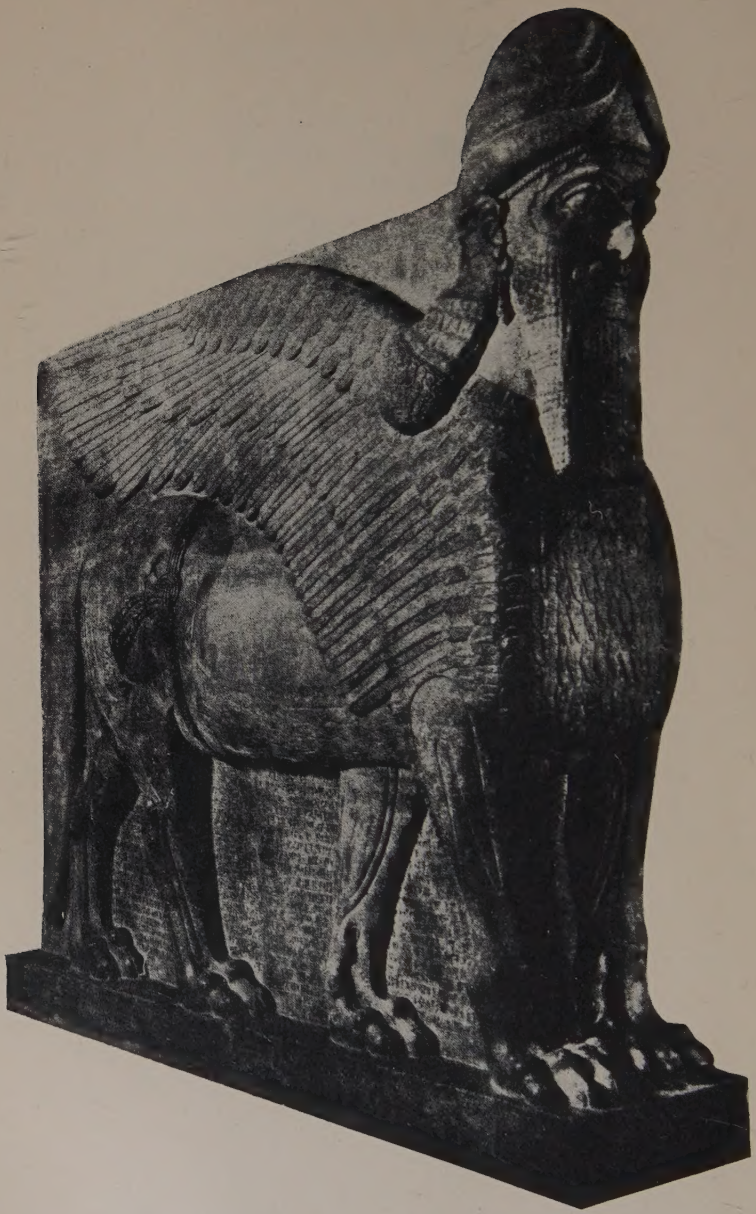
RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE GREEK BIBLE (1933)

THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI (1933–37)

THE STORY OF THE BIBLE (1936)

THE TEXT OF THE GREEK BIBLE (1937)

PLATE I



MAN-HEADED LION OF ASHUR-NASIR-PAL FROM NIMRÛD
British Museum

Fr.

THE BIBLE AND ARCHÆOLOGY

By

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PREFACE

The importance of archæological research has grown greatly, both in fact and in public esteem, in the course of the last generation. In times less acutely anxious than the present, reports of excavations have received a high journalistic status as 'news,' and occasionally, as in the cases of the tomb of Tutankhamen and the Royal Cemetery of Ur, as front-page news. One particular department of this research is that which is concerned with Palestine and the adjoining countries, from which light may be thrown on the books composing our Bible. Such light has been thrown from time to time, and in increasing measure during the last fifty years. New manuscripts have been found, earlier in date than any previously known; monuments, inscriptions, and books have been discovered which illustrate the history of the Hebrews and the conditions under which the books of the Bible were produced. New nations, such as the Hittites, the Cretans, the Mitannians, and more recently the Hurrians, have been brought to our knowledge. Some acquaintance with the discoveries made in Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt, at Boghaz-keui, Ras Shamra, Jericho, and Lachish, is essential for the serious student of the Bible.

The object of the present volume is to lay before such students who are not themselves archæological specialists the principal results of archæological research in their bearing on the Bible. The period covered is about a century—from the excavations of Layard at Nineveh to the point at which research has been suspended by the outbreak of the present war. The attempt has been made to set out these results objectively, and then to assess their value as contributions towards the intelligent understanding and appreciation of the Bible.

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A word of personal apology is perhaps necessary. It is obvious that no one could write with first-hand knowledge of all the discoveries described and of all the subjects touched on, and I am not primarily an archæologist. But I may plead a hereditary interest from the fact that my maternal grandfather, Edward Hawkins, was Keeper of Antiquities when the Assyrian discoveries of Layard entered the British Museum; one of my first school prizes was Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*; and during my forty years' service in the Museum I was brought into close contact with the progress of archæological research. During the first half of that period Biblical manuscripts and the discoveries of papyri were my particular concern; during the second half I was responsible as Director for the expeditions to Carchemish and Ur. Even since my retirement I have had the good fortune to have a hand in the acquisition of the Codex Sinaiticus and the publication of the Chester Beatty papyri.

Nevertheless for by far the greater part of this book I have been dependent on the work of others, which I have tried to set out fairly. References to the principal sources of information are made in the body of the work, and it would be tedious to repeat them here; I can only express a general sense of obligation to those books or periodicals from which I have derived information. For the illustrations I have to thank the Trustees of the British Museum; the Trustees of Sir Henry Wellcome; Sir Arthur Evans; Professor John Garstang; Messrs Emery Walker, Ltd. (the Chester Beatty papyri); Mr J. E. Lodge, Director of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington; M. Pierre Jouguet, Director of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale at Cairo; M. Giraudon, of Paris; Mr H. H. F. Jayne, Director of the University Museum, Philadelphia; and Dr J. A. Wilson, Director of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

F. G. K.

February 1940

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CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Archæology has been defined as the science of the treatment of the material remains of the human past, and in common usage the term has been applied especially to the results of explorations and excavations which have brought such remains to light. It is with these, in their bearing on the Bible, that the present volume is intended to deal; and first it is desirable to indicate what ground will be covered by the inquiry, and what is the nature of the evidence which the inquiry may be expected to reveal. This is the more necessary since there is often misapprehension as to the results which can properly be expected from archæology and the value of its evidence on the points in which students are interested.

Archæological research is a comparatively modern development of human activity. The ancient Greeks, with whom so many forms of science originated, were not much interested in bygone ages. Travellers and geographers, such as Herodotus and Strabo, investigated something of the history and customs of surrounding nations, and an antiquary like Pausanias might record the monuments encountered in his travels; but it did not occur to them to use the spade as a means of recovering the past history of Troy or Cnossos or Mycenæ, still less that of Nineveh or the Pyramids. The Romans had less intellectual curiosity than the Greeks, and were little disposed to undertake antiquarian investigations. The Middle Ages did not concern themselves much with classical and pre-classical antiquity; their intellectual activity was centred on religion, but did not include research into Biblical archæology. They accepted the Bible, and did

not seek to look behind it or around it. It was not until the Renaissance that men began to make research into classical antiquity; and then the research was primarily literary. The material remains of antiquity were at first collected only as the adornments of the palaces of princes and the houses of great nobles. In this way the Arundel Marbles and the Marlborough gems came to England in the first half of the seventeenth century, and ducal and grand-ducal collections were formed on the Continent.

The origins of museums in our modern sense, in which we now house the principal results of archæological research, are to be found in the collections made in the second half of the seventeenth century by the two Tradescants, Elias Ashmole and Hans Sloane, from which the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford and the British Museum derive. But these were at first collections of natural history specimens, of coins (or 'medals,' as they were commonly called), and of miscellaneous curiosities, involving little archæological research, and based on no archæological excavations. Antiquarian interest there had been in England since the sixteenth century. Bale, Leland, and Camden had travelled about the country and recorded its visible monuments; Dodsworth, Dugdale, and especially Cotton had collected its literary records. But it is not, however, until the eighteenth century that scientific archæology can be said to have come into being. The Society of Antiquaries of London, though not incorporated under Royal Charter until 1751, dates its origin from the meetings, which began in 1707, of a group of enthusiasts among whom the names of Stukeley and Wanley are prominent. Stukeley's own *Itinerarium Curiosum*, which called attention to such monuments of antiquity as Avebury, Stonehenge, and Old Sarum, appeared in 1724. But more important for our present purpose, as initiating methodical exploration in foreign lands, is the foundation in 1732 of the Society of Dilettanti, a group of young men of fashion who had acquired a taste for classical antiquities in the

course of the then customary tour of the Continent. Their manners and morals sometimes left something to be desired, but their real enthusiasm for ancient art was proved by their liberal support of the expeditions of Stuart, Revett, Dawkins, Wood, and Chandler to the Levant for the purpose of making surveys and measured drawings of the extant remains of Greek antiquities on either side of the Ægean. From these expeditions the beginnings of scientific archæology may be dated.

The eighteenth century also saw the beginning of the excavation of Herculaneum and Pompeii, and Wood's expedition to Palmyra; but the archæological exploration of what may be called Bible lands takes its origin from Napoleon's expedition to Egypt at the very end of the century. The French have always been honourably distinguished for their interest in the antiquities of the countries with which they are concerned; and when Napoleon invaded Egypt in 1798 he carried with him a corps of scholars, commissioned to investigate and report on its ancient monuments. Most of the movable objects discovered by them, including notably the famous Rosetta Stone, passed by the fortune of war into the hands of the English after the victories of Nelson and Abercromby, but the magnificent series of volumes, entitled *Description de l'Égypte*, which appeared in 1809–22, are a monument of scholarship of which any country might be proud.

Subsequent chapters of this book will trace the progress of archæological exploration in the lands of the Bible, from Egypt on the one side of Palestine to Mesopotamia on the other. Here it will suffice to record that the year 1802 saw the first tentative beginnings of the decipherment of both the hieroglyphic and the cuneiform methods of writing, which eventually unlocked the secrets of the Egyptian and Babylonian records. In Mesopotamia the first excavations (apart from those of natives in search of building materials) were made by C. J. Rich between 1808 and 1820, but the great period of discovery began with

Botta in 1842 and Layard in 1845. In Egypt exploration proceeded actively from the time of the constitution of the Department of Antiquities under French administration by the Khedive Ismail (1863–79). In Palestine archæological research may be said to have begun with Robinson in 1838. The Palestine Exploration Fund was founded in 1865, and under its auspices the country was mapped and Jerusalem explored by Warren, Wilson, Conder, Kitchener, and others in the course of the next twenty years. About the same time attention was first called to the Hittite monuments by Wright and Sayce, and research began which culminated in the excavations of Boghaz-keui by Winckler in 1906, and of Carchemish by Hogarth, Campbell Thompson, and Woolley in 1911–14. After the Great War came the opportunity of renewed work in Mesopotamia, leading to the brilliant results obtained at Ur, El-Obeid, Kish, and other sites. Palestine and Syria also have been open to archæologists, and important excavations have been carried on within the last few years at Jericho, Lachish, Megiddo, Samaria, and Beisan, in Palestine, and at Ras-Shamra, Tell Halaf, and Atchāna, in north-western Syria, which have added greatly to our knowledge. Gradually the progress of research is filling up the blank spaces on the map, and it is being realized that the lands to the north and north-east of Palestine, which had been neglected until recently, contain materials which will add much to our understanding of the history of Palestine and of the origins and development of the Hebrews. These and other excavations, and the results of them bearing upon Bible studies, will be the subject of the following chapters.

Before proceeding to this narrative it will be as well to consider what sort of help may legitimately be expected from researches such as these. It is possible to ask too much of archæology; it is possible to ask too little; and it is possible to ask in the wrong way. There have been those who said, "What is the value of stones and potsherds

compared with the written records?" There have been those who said, "Stones and potsherds are facts; written records are not to be trusted." There have been (and still are) those who look at archæological discoveries solely from the point of view of whether they do or do not 'prove the Bible'—by which they generally mean their own conception of the Bible. And this last is a highly important consideration; for men's conception of the Bible has varied greatly at different times, and each age and school of thought is inclined to believe that its conception is the only true one, and that to attack its manner of thinking is to attack the value of the Bible.

Let us try to approach the subject objectively. Archæology, for our present purpose, is the study of the material remains of antiquity in Palestine and those countries which from the earliest times down to the first centuries of the Christian era were brought into relations with it. These remains have been brought to light by excavations, for the most part within the last hundred years. They include remains of buildings, sculptures, pottery, inscriptions, and documents on stone, clay, papyrus, leather, and vellum. They reveal, but very imperfectly, something of the history and life of the Mesopotamian countries, of Asia Minor, of Syria and Palestine, and of Egypt. And some of the facts revealed bear more or less closely on the history of the Hebrew people as it is recorded in the books of the Bible.

It is seldom, however, that the bearing is direct and immediate. The celebrated Moabite Stone records that Moab was subject to Israel in the days of Omri and during half the days of his son (Ahab), but that then Mesha, king of Moab, successfully rebelled, defeated Israel, and took the vessels of Yahweh (Jehovah) and laid them before his god Chemosh. In 2 Kings i, 1, and iii, 4, etc., it is recorded that Mesha, king of Moab, was tributary to Israel, but that after the death of Ahab Moab rebelled, and eventually was heavily defeated by Jehoram and Jehoshaphat in

alliance. These are evidently different accounts of the same series of events, in which each side magnifies its successes and passes over its defeats. So they help to explain each other, and thus extend our knowledge. A clay cylinder found at Nineveh containing annals of the reign of Sennacherib records that king's wars against Hezekiah, and the submission made by the latter; while a bas-relief depicts the siege of Lachish, and shows the Assyrian king seated on a throne and receiving a train of captives. This is quite in accordance with the narrative in 2 Kings xviii, but the Assyrian narrative naturally omits any reference to the disaster which overtook their army before Lachish, for which confirmation is found in a totally different quarter—in the history of Herodotus. The recent excavations at Lachish have thrown no additional light on this episode in its history, but they have produced (as will be more fully described later) a number of letters from the final years of the Jewish monarchy, containing names which recur in the last chapters of Kings and in Jeremiah.

These, however, are exceptional cases. Direct references to the history of Palestine are rare in the records of Assyria and Egypt. To the rulers of those countries Palestine was an insignificant state, occasionally to be used as a pawn in the rivalries of empires, and now and again troublesome enough to provoke military action, which is the principal theme of their records. With the details of its history, with the development of its thought, with its religious beliefs—with all, in short, that makes Palestine of interest to us—they had simply nothing to do. What their monuments and documents have to tell us is the conditions under which the Hebrew people acquired statehood, its monarchies rose and fell, and again, after the captivities, the land of Judah was reoccupied and the Jewish people experienced the rules of the Seleucids, the Herods, and Rome until the final catastrophe of A.D. 70. How much light has been derived from these sources during the last

century, and especially during the last generation, will be shown in the following chapters.

It is necessary, however, to clear one's mind of prepossessions. Before the beginning of the age of archæological research the Hebrew records, in the form of the books of the Bible, were alone in the field. They had been familiar to the Western world since Christianity had reached it, and for many centuries they had dominated thought almost to the exclusion of every other influence. They had done so in a way that invested them with a peculiar sanctity. It was difficult to criticize them dispassionately, or to distinguish what was essential from what was subsidiary in the revelation which they enshrined. There were no competing narratives to check their history, and it was quite natural that the authority which Jews and Christians attached to their spiritual teaching was allowed also to its statements of historical and even of semi-historical detail. The Bible, being the only record, was supposed to be the uniquely accurate record; the vessel was regarded as no less unchallengeable than its contents.

When, therefore, the records of Egypt and Assyria came to light; when it was seen that they did not always square precisely with statements in the Hebrew narratives; when events such as the Exodus and the Return from the Captivity, which bulk so large in Hebrew history, were found to have left no mark in the chronicles of the great adjoining empires, it was natural that critics should arise to question the trustworthiness of the Old Testament narratives, and that those who were hostile to the Christian faith should use these criticisms as a basis for an attack on religion generally. It took some considerable time, and many searchings of heart, before the new knowledge could be brought into proper relation to the old.

At the same time another movement was taking place which increased the elements of disturbance of traditional views. The science of literary criticism, though it had had great masters, such as Erasmus, Casaubon, and Bentley, in

earlier ages, broke out with increased vigour in the nineteenth century, especially in Germany, in the form of destructive attacks on the traditional views of the great works of ancient literature. When the unity of Homer was assailed the books of the Old and New Testaments were not likely to escape attack. Critical analysis of the most searching kind was applied to their language, their construction, and their literary style; and while many wild views were (and still are) propounded, which have had their day and ceased to be, some assured results have been attained, which must be taken into account no less than the evidence of archæology.

This applies especially to the construction of the narrative books of the Old Testament. Before the age of criticism it was natural to take the books as they stood, and to treat them as homogeneous compositions more or less of the ages to which they related and guaranteed against inaccuracy by the inspired character of their spiritual message. When, therefore, as a result of increasing knowledge of Hebrew and a more detailed examination of the narratives, critics of the school of Wellhausen in Germany, interpreted in England by Robertson Smith, Driver, and others, argued that these narratives were composite structures, made up by the combination of several originally distinct narratives, they at first raised a storm of counter-criticism, and were accused of undermining the whole authority of the Bible. Here again a revaluation of the whole position is needed. The assertions of scholars must be searchingly examined by other scholars, and the chaff winnowed from the grain; but when by general consent results have been arrived at which would be accepted as established in the case of secular literature it is necessary to face the question whether they can be rejected in the case of the Scriptures which are the foundation of our religion.

It is, ultimately, a question of God's methods of making His revelation known to the world. So long as the Bible record stood alone there was no occasion to doubt it and

no evidence by which to test it. But when such evidence comes to light the question at once arises, Is there any real reason to suppose that God has imposed a record of facts upon us which must be accepted in all its details, rather than that He expects us to use the faculties with which He has endowed us in our study of the documents in which His revelation is enshrined; and does the value of the spiritual message in fact depend on the inerrancy of the historical narrative? Is it not at least worth while to see what is the result of applying our critical faculties to the materials which have come down to us in the Hebrew Scriptures, and reconsidering them in the light of archæological evidence and the science applicable in other cases to the examination of texts? It will be the object of this book to show that this can be done without any disturbance of religious faith, and with, on the other hand, a great enrichment of our perception of the way in which God's revelation was made known to the world through the progressive education of His Hebrew people.

To begin this inquiry it will be convenient to state first the conclusions now generally accepted by scholars with regard to the structure and dates of the books of the Old Testament. We shall then be in a better position to estimate the bearing and value of the archæological evidence. In broad outline the accepted doctrine is that there are three main strata in the first four books of the Pentateuch. Two of these are assigned to about the ninth century B.C., in the early days of the Hebrew monarchy. One mark of distinction between them is the name commonly used for the Deity, which in the one is Jehovah (more correctly Yahweh) and in the other Elohim; and from this fact the one work is commonly known as J and the other as E. The former appears to have been written in the southern kingdom, the latter in the northern, whence the distinguishing letters may be taken also to stand for Judah and Ephraim. The third stratum is much later. It is largely concerned with law, ceremonial, and ritual, set in

a rather careful chronological framework. It is attributed to a period, either during or after the Exile, when the influence of the priests was predominant, and is sometimes called the 'Priestly Code,' and is designated by the letter P. These three strata must accordingly have been put together in their present form after the latter date.

The remaining book of the Pentateuch, Deuteronomy (D), is generally held to be (at any rate in main substance) the book discovered in the Temple by the High Priest Hilkiah in the eighteenth year of Josiah (2 Kings xxii, 8). It would accordingly have been produced at any rate before 621 B.C.

We have, therefore, for the Pentateuch the sequence J, E, D, P, ranging over a period from about 900 to 400 B.C. All these four elements are supposed to be found also in the Book of Joshua, but whether they are to be identified in Judges is a matter on which scholars are not agreed. This book evidently contains early materials, which have probably been worked up by a writer of the Deuteronomic school of thought. The books which we now know as those of Samuel and Kings were originally a single work, divided merely in order to suit the normal and convenient size of papyrus rolls. In the Greek (Septuagint) translation of the Old Testament, which goes back to the third century B.C., they are called the four books of "Kingdoms," and their date of composition must obviously be after the latest event recorded in them, the liberation of Jehoiachin in the thirty-seventh year of his captivity—*i.e.*, 560 B.C. Similarly Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah formed a single work, the date of which, in view of the events described in it, can hardly be earlier than 350 B.C.

This is an outline of the views now generally accepted as the results of a literary and linguistic analysis of the narrative books of the Old Testament; but it must not be supposed that they are universally accepted even in outline, while with regard to details there is very great diversity of opinion. In the main principle of composite

structure there is nothing that need cause disquietude, nor in the suggestion that the dates at which they were put into their present form are considerably later than some of the events recorded in them. There is no statement in the books of the Pentateuch that they were written by or in the time of Moses, and the books of Samuel, of Kings and Chronicles, of Ezra and Nehemiah, must obviously be later than the latest events recorded in them. The most trustworthy histories are not, as a rule, those written nearest to the events that they describe. Gardiner's history of the Civil War is more accurate than Clarendon's, and we certainly have better histories of the Middle Ages than those of the mediæval chroniclers. The mediæval chroniclers also give us examples of the method of structure which we seem to find in the Pentateuch. A modern historian, while basing his narrative on the materials provided by his ancient sources, writes the story in his own language; but a mediæval historian incorporated copious extracts from his authorities with little or no alteration. He would take over an earlier chronicler or chroniclers almost in bulk, making his own additions to bring the story up to date. Somewhat similar, if the analysis which we have outlined is correct, must have been the method of the historian who combined J, E, and P into the books as we now have them.

What is important, therefore, is not so much the date at which the books were produced in their present form as the materials out of which they were formed. That there were earlier works on which they were based is stated in the books themselves. The "Book of the Wars of Jehovah" (a title which is hardly conceivable before the entry into Palestine) is quoted in Numbers xxi, 14, and the "Book of Jashar" in Joshua x, 13. The Songs of Moses and Deborah must have been independent documents before they were incorporated in their present places. In the later historical books explicit references are made to the "Acts of Solomon," the "Chronicles of the Kings of

Judah," and the "Chronicles of the Kings of Israel"; and no doubt many sources are utilized without being named. Now it is precisely with regard to the existence of contemporary records, on which trustworthy history could be based, that archæology has brought us much new evidence, which will be set out in the following pages. For the moment all that is necessary is to point out that there is no need to distrust the application of literary criticism to the books of the Old Testament, or to be disturbed by its results as at present indicated.

With regard to the prophetical books the question is rather different. Excluding Daniel, which was not reckoned by the Hebrews themselves among the Prophets, but was included among the Hagiographa, the miscellaneous writings which were the last to be accepted as canonical, there is no reason to question the historical position and the traditional dates assigned to most of them. The activities of critics have rather been directed towards questioning the integrity of the present contents of the books, and to trying to point out later additions to a central core and free editorial rehandlings. That such rehandling may sometimes have taken place there is no need to doubt. It is not now questioned that the Book of Isaiah contains the work of two, or perhaps three, separate prophets. That there has been some confusion in the text of Jeremiah is proved by the marked difference in arrangement between the Hebrew text as finally fixed about A.D. 100 and the early Greek translation which we know as the Septuagint. In the other books also the possibility of editorial revision cannot be excluded, especially since we know little of the manner in which the prophetical writings were circulated. On the other hand, scholars sometimes run riot in their dissection of these books, until they seem to reduce them to a mass of small fragments huddled together by an unintelligent editor. Fortunately these efforts of criticism largely cancel out, since no two scholars agree in the details of their dissections. The

fault found in nearly all of them, however, is to ignore common sense in matters of literary production. The prevalent critical method would appear to require that a prophet's utterances were circulated in a number of small leaflets, often of only a few verses, and that these were brought together at haphazard, and subsequently worked over by a succession of editors during a period of centuries, with additions of their own, and that all of these editors and manipulators succeeded in passing off the constantly changing result as the work of the prophet who had produced the original core. And this, it is apparently claimed, was the fate not of one prophet, but of all. Each editor seems to make it a point of honour to dissect his author into a number of different component parts of different date; but none of them ever seems to take the trouble to think out a process of publication and circulation which would make such an explanation humanly probable, or would explain why there were not rival editions of the several prophets in circulation, reflecting different stages in the process of accretion and rehandling. The higher criticism should be made bibliographically probable, and conformable to common sense and human nature.

Of the poetical books it is not necessary to say much, since they are not much affected by archæological evidence. The most that can be looked for is that discoveries of the literature of the adjoining nations may provide some parallels to the literature of the Hebrews, just as the code of laws of Hammurabi of Babylon offers parallels to the legislation of the Pentateuch. An example does, in fact, occur among the literature of Egypt, some of the earliest extant examples of which consist of hortatory precepts of the same general character as the Proverbs of Solomon. If future discoveries should throw light on the origin and date of the Book of Job they would be very welcome; otherwise there is not much to be expected from archæology with regard to this section of the Old Testament.

It is hoped that this brief preliminary outline of the problems presented by the books of the Old Testament—problems for the most part arising out of the literary criticism of the books—will make it easier to appreciate the bearing of the archæological evidence which will be described in the following chapters, and may also indicate the spirit in which the inquiry should be approached. Much ill-feeling, and also much real distress of mind, has arisen from a mistaken attitude towards Bible criticism. The very respect in which the Bible is rightly held has led many people to regard all criticism as an attack on its authenticity and credibility. Such attacks there have, of course, been in plenty. No good cause ever lacked them. But the true answer is to meet hostile criticism with superior defensive criticism; and it would show a lack of faith to doubt that the truth will prevail in the end.

There is, however, no guarantee that truth will prevail without a struggle. It would no doubt have been possible for God to have imposed a true belief on all men without the possibility of doubt, but that has not been His method in the education of mankind. This world is a place of discipline and trial, and it is only natural that we should be required to use the faculties implanted in us for the ascertainment of truth. There have been times when any questioning of a statement in the Bible was regarded as wicked; but that was not the attitude of the early Christian Fathers, and it is incompatible with the developments of modern thought.

The doctrine of an infallible Bible will not, indeed, stand the slightest examination. The question would first have to be asked, What Bible? Is it the Hebrew Old Testament, which we are believed to have in a form fixed by the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem, or the Greek translation, which is much earlier in date and translated from an earlier form of the text, though no doubt with many imperfections of its own? Is it the New Testament as we find it in such manuscripts as the Codex Vaticanus or the Codex Sinaiticus,

or as we find it in the Codex Bezæ, or as in the later manuscripts from which our Authorized Version was translated? Is it the Latin Vulgate, which is the Bible of the Roman Church, or the Bible in any of the many other languages into which it has been translated? Those who argue from a knowledge of the Latin Vulgate or the English Authorized Version must make sure that the translation rightly represents the original Hebrew or Greek; and to do so they must use their critical faculties.

Again, there are statements in the Bible which are incompatible with one another. Jehoiachin cannot have been both eighteen (2 Kings xxiv, 8) and eight (2 Chron. xxxvi, 9) years old when he began to reign. Noah cannot have taken both two (Gen. vi, 19) and seven (Gen. vii, 2) of every kind of clean beast into the Ark. In 2 Samuel xxi, 19, Elhanan is said to have slain Goliath the Gittite, "the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam"; in 1 Chronicles xx, 5, he is said to have slain his brother. These are unimportant details, but they suffice to show that it is not merely legitimate but necessary to use one's normal critical faculties in reading the Bible; and the number of them might be greatly multiplied.

The object of this argument is to show that a critical examination of the Bible is compatible with the deepest reverence for it and with the profoundest faith in its teaching. It is merely the substitution of one conception of the Bible for another. The old (but not the oldest) conception was to regard the Jewish religion as given complete in all its details by Moses, and the Old Testament books as produced from the first just as they stand. No comparison of them with other records was possible, because no other records were then extant. The alternative conception is to regard the revelation of God's will to the Jews as progressive, and the Old Testament books as subject to critical analysis just as other ancient books are. In this view there is nothing subversive. No Christian can demur at the doctrine of a progressive revelation, since

it is of the essence of his belief that the teaching of Christ constituted a new and higher revelation of God's nature and will. There is, therefore, no *a priori* reason why there should not have been stages also in His revelation of Himself to the Jews. Not only is this in itself rational and probable, but it removes certain difficulties in the record itself, which shows in the earlier stages a lower standard of morality than was demanded later—for example, the polygamy of the patriarchs (quite natural in early stages of civilization) or the cruelty shown towards enemies. It is no reflection on the teaching of the Bible to point out parallels and analogies in the beliefs and practices of other people. The true lesson of the Bible is not that the Jews were created perfect, and with a fully developed religion and ritual from the first, but that they were gradually raised above the level of the nations among whom they lived and whose beliefs they once shared. The interest and value of the story lie in realizing how the pure monotheism and lofty morality which distinguished them as God's chosen people—chosen to be a guide and example to the world—grew up out of the polytheistic beliefs and unedifying practices of the surrounding peoples.

It is this progressive revelation that is most likely to be illuminated by archæological discovery. As has already been said, comparatively few archæological discoveries bear directly on the Bible narrative. But very many of the discoveries of the past century illuminate the background of that narrative. In increasing measure they are making known to us the surroundings amid which the Hebrew people came into being. They give us the setting in which Abraham and Jacob and Moses lived and acted. They tell us the beliefs of the Mesopotamian peoples from whom Abraham came, of the Egyptians among whom the descendants of Jacob sojourned, of the Canaanites and Philistines against whom the children of Israel fought and among whom they settled. When once the idea has been abandoned that new information cannot be acceptable

unless it conforms with a preconceived assumption as to the method of God's revelation of Himself, it will be seen that the new picture which modern research is gradually building up is at least as consistent with the truth of that revelation, and is more in accordance with His methods in the gradual education and discipline of mankind. It is also more in accordance with a healthy faith to believe that truth is not served by the suppression of inquiry, but that it flourishes in the fullest exercise of the critical faculties with which man has been endowed. "Seek and ye shall find" is the right maxim for a student of the Bible.

In the following pages, therefore, the attempt will be made to summarize the progress of archæological research, to record as objectively as possible what has been found, and to indicate the conclusions to which the discoveries point or seem to point. The earlier chapters will accordingly describe the progress of exploration and excavation in Bible lands, treating of each district separately, roughly in the order in which important work was done in each. This part of the work will be historical, and will be based for the most part on the published reports of the discoverers themselves. Throughout these chapters the bearing of the several discoveries on Biblical criticism will be indicated, but an estimate of the total results for our understanding of the Old and New Testaments respectively will be reserved for the final chapters. In this part there will necessarily be an element of doubt, since in the present imperfect state of our knowledge the interpretation of newly discovered facts cannot always be assured. Many statements that used confidently to be made in the past have been invalidated by the progress of knowledge. Scholars will no doubt always continue to differ in the conclusions which they draw from the available evidence, and it is not necessary to accuse of incompetence or ill-will, of hostility to religion or obscurantism, every one who does not take the same view as oneself. The use of the phrase 'higher critics' as a term of reproach is in particular to be deprecated.

Higher criticism is merely the criticism of the subject-matter as opposed to criticism of the text, and the most stubborn fundamentalist is just as much a higher critic as the most advanced revolutionary. It is better, and it saves much misapplied energy and not a little ill-feeling, to believe that all alike are earnest in the pursuit of truth, and that though no one is likely to attain the whole truth, all who seek sincerely may make some contribution towards its attainment. It is at least the belief of the present writer that the progress of archæological research will be found to constitute a steady march in the direction of establishing the essential trustworthiness of the Bible narrative, and of greatly increasing our intelligent comprehension of it, and thereby our appreciation of its spiritual message, which constitutes its real value for mankind.

CHAPTER II

MESOPOTAMIA: (I) ASSYRIA AND NINEVEH

THE modern story of archæology begins almost simultaneously in Mesopotamia and in Egypt, and it follows the same general course in each. In both cases there were monuments to be discovered and an unknown writing to be deciphered. In both research began at the very beginning of the nineteenth century, and both have yielded some of their most remarkable discoveries in the twentieth. In the case of Mesopotamia we will take first the story of decipherment, and then that of the successive stages of discovery, in which the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates and the neighbouring country of Persia have been so prolific. In this chapter, however, only the first part of the story will be told, down to about 1880, in which the main focus of interest is in Upper Mesopotamia or Assyria. The later excavations, which have been concerned mainly with Babylonia, require a chapter to themselves.

Travellers in the East, even from the time of the Greeks, had noticed (as, indeed, no passer-by could fail to notice) certain great rock carvings of figures accompanied by characters which they variously described as Assyrian, Syrian, Chaldee, or Persian, but of whose meaning they had no inkling. Especially notable were the carvings on the great rock of Behistun, twenty miles east of Kirmanshah, on the old highway between Persia and Babylonia, and those at Naksh-i-Rustam, near Persepolis. These we now know to represent respectively the triumphs of Darius I over the chiefs who had rebelled against him, and of the Sassanian king, Sapor I, over the Emperor Valerian; but an Arab writer interpreted the former as a representation of a school, with master and boys, the former holding up an

instrument wherewith to beat the boys if unruly, while the figure of Sapor was variously regarded as representing Rustum or Samson. Many travellers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries described these monuments, and some brought home copies of a few of the characters, to which the name 'cuneiform' (*i.e.*, wedge-shaped) was given by Dr Thomas Hyde, of Oxford, in 1700,[1] and by E. Kämpfer in 1712; but their decipherment was regarded as hopeless, and Hyde even took them to be merely a species of ornament.

A sound basis for study was first provided by K. Niebuhr, of Holstein, in 1765, who made complete copies of a great trilingual inscription at Persepolis. He also for the first time suggested that the characters were alphabetic. But the first real beginning of decipherment was made by G. F. Grotefend, who in 1802 published at Göttingen the results of some years' study of Niebuhr's transcripts. He brought to bear on them a skill acquired by practice on acrostics, cyphers, and the like puzzles; and he proceeded, as is essential in such cases, by a series of guesses, the soundness of which could be established by their confirming one another. From the analogy of some Pehlevi (later Persian) inscriptions he guessed that the cuneiform texts would contain the title 'King of Kings' and the names of sovereigns. He found passages in which the same group of letters occurred with slight modification ('king,' 'kings'); he found, in conjunction with these groups, a group in one inscription which he guessed to be the name of a king, and in another inscription the same group with an additional letter, which he guessed might be a genitive case-ending, implying that the king named in the first text was here referred to as the father of another king. As the result of these guesses, and of others which it would be tedious to recite in detail, Grotefend was able to identify the names of Darius Hystaspes and his son Xerxes, together with the

[1] "Ductuli pyramidales seu cuneiformes."—*Historia religionis veterum Persarum* (p. 526).

title 'King of Kings.' With this clue, and with the assistance of the early dialects of Persian preserved in other scripts, he was able to assign correct values to twelve letters; and although his subsequent guesses led him very far astray, he had provided a foundation upon which others could and did build.

The greatest contribution to the decipherment of cuneiform, however, was made by one who had little, if any, knowledge of what Grotefend had done, but who by his own genius traversed much of the same ground and achieved a greater measure of success. This was Henry Creswicke (afterwards Sir Henry) Rawlinson (1810–95), an officer in the service of the East India Company. In 1835, having been sent to Persia as Military Adviser, he heard of and copied two inscriptions on Mount Elvend, and from them, by much the same methods as Grotefend, arrived at the identification of the names of Darius and Xerxes. Subsequently he heard of the great Behistun Inscription, and it is on his transcription and interpretation of this that his fame chiefly rests. It is a great inscription of Darius, in three dialects (Persian, Susian, and Babylonian), carved on the face of a mountain, on a smoothed surface more than 300 feet above the level of the ground and barely accessible by a skilled mountaineer (Plate II). By incredible exertions, repeated on many visits and at considerable risk to himself and others, he eventually obtained copies and squeezes of all three inscriptions. These squeezes became the prime authority for the text of the inscription, which is the Rosetta Stone of cuneiform decipherment; but wear and tear (assisted, it is said, by the ravages of mice) had rendered these precious documents so imperfect that in 1904 the Trustees of the British Museum commissioned two of the members of their staff, Mr L. W. King and Mr R. Campbell Thompson, to make fresh copies from the original. This they succeeded in doing by suspending cradles from above, and in 1907 a definitive edition of the inscription was published.

To go back to the work of decipherment. While Rawlinson was ploughing his almost lonely furrow, European scholars, especially C. Lassen and E. Burnouf, were carrying on the work which Grotefend had begun. Burnouf increased the number of correctly identified letters to sixteen, and Lassen to twenty-three; but Rawlinson had independently arrived at practically the whole alphabet. The method of procedure was to concentrate attention on the proper names. The inscriptions of the Persian kings frequently included long lists of provinces, the names of which were also extant in Zend (the earliest Persian dialect) and in Greek; and by comparison and by cross-lines of evidence (somewhat recalled by the efforts of crossword-puzzle decipherers to-day) the secrets of the cuneiform character were at last revealed, so far as the Persian language was concerned.

The next stage was to apply this knowledge to the Susian and Babylonian texts of the great trilingual inscriptions. Here there were considerable additional difficulties to be met; for though the cuneiform characters were the same to the eye, the application and interpretation were very different. The Persian language was Indo-European, and the script was alphabetic, with a limited number of characters. The other two texts were Semitic, and the characters were syllabic, with an ideographic origin. Moreover, the number of characters was very much greater, running in the case of Babylonian to some hundreds, and many of them represent more than one sound, determinable only by the context. Consequently there was, and still is, room for differences of opinion between scholars as to the reading of certain characters. Nevertheless, the main principles of interpretation were gradually established. It was not the work of any one scholar. Besides Rawlinson, most valuable contributions were made in this country by Edward Hincks, an Irish clergyman, and Edwin Norris, Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, both of whom had a real *flair* for such work; and since all three shared their

results unselfishly, the credit must be shared by all. Abroad N. L. Westergaard and Jules Oppert were the most successful, though many others took a hand.

A test which proved that the main problem had indeed been correctly solved was applied in 1857, when, on the suggestion of W. H. Fox Talbot, a disciple of Rawlinson and Hincks (famous also as one of the principal inventors of photography), the Royal Asiatic Society invited those two scholars, with Fox Talbot himself and Oppert, to prepare independent translations of a long unpublished inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I, transcribed by Norris, and to send them under seal to the President of the Society. The translations were examined by a committee, and though there were differences in detail, the committee were able to certify that in substance they were so near together as to prove that the decipherment of cuneiform had indeed been accomplished. Many improvements had still to be made, and even to-day a cuneiform text cannot be read with the same assurance as, say, a Greek inscription; but in general the problem had been solved, and scholars were now able to profit by the mass of texts which from about 1845 onwards had begun to pour in on them.

It is to the story of these excavations that we must now come, and it is satisfactory to note how large a part in them has been played by our countrymen. Travellers in Mesopotamia had long noted the great ruins of Babylon, and had sent home inscribed bricks from them, the result of the depredations of natives in search of building materials; but the credit for the first archæological examination of the site must go to C. J. Rich, the representative of the East India Company at Baghdad in 1811. He made some small excavations at Babylon, and took measurements of the great mound which he thought represented the Tower of Babel; he visited Mosul, where he obtained Assyrian tablets and cylinders (including a foundation tablet of Sennacherib from the mound of Nebi Yunus), and finally made fresh copies of some of the inscriptions of Persepolis.

He died of cholera in 1821, but his collections passed into the possession of the British Museum; and it was the publication of his narrative in 1836 which stimulated the French Government and an English public servant to send emissaries to follow up his work, and thereby inaugurated the great series of discoveries which have revealed much of the history of Assyria, and thrown not a little light on the story of the Bible.

Rich's finds, especially the cylinder of Sennacherib, seemed to indicate that the mounds near Mosul were the site of ancient Nineveh; and accordingly the French Government sent a Vice-Consul to Mosul, Paolo Emilio Botta, with instructions to search for antiquities. There are two mounds on the east bank of the Tigris, facing the modern town of Mosul on the west bank, known as Kuyunjik and Nebi Yunus. It was from the latter that Rich's cylinder had come, and Botta tried first to dig there; but Tell Nebi Yunus ("Hill of the Prophet Jonah") is believed by the natives to be the tomb of the prophet Jonah, and no official digging, especially by an unbeliever, could be tolerated there. Botta accordingly transferred his attention to the mound of Kuyunjik; but as he found little, and as he received information of sculptures being found by natives at the village of Khorsabad, about ten miles away, he removed thither, with much greater success. In March 1843 he began to find large bas-reliefs, colossal winged and human-headed bulls, and other objects; and after two years' work he was able to return to France with a fine collection, now in the galleries of the Louvre. He thought that he had discovered Nineveh, and in one sense he had. Oriental despots have at all times been fond of building themselves new capitals and palaces in the neighbourhood of the old. Such are the several deserted Delhis which lie around the present capital of India. Such are Baghdad, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Babylon, in Lower Mesopotamia, and such, though more widely scattered, Persepolis, Susa, and Ecbatana, in Persia. So in the neighbourhood of Mosul

there are the mounds now known as Kuyunjik, Nebi Yunus, Nimrûd, Kalah Shergat, and Khorsabad, representing the capital of Assyria at different times. Khorsabad was the capital of Sargon II, the conqueror of Samaria (722–705 B.C.), and its discovery made a fine beginning to Assyrian archæology.

Meanwhile a young Englishman, Henry Layard, destined nearly forty years later to be Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople at a time of acute international crisis, was travelling privately and inconspicuously in the East, visiting historical sites as they came in his way. From Syria his curiosity led him round the curve which is now known as the Fertile Crescent, skirting the desert from Aleppo to Mosul, where he arrived in April 1840. He saw the mounds of Kuyunjik and Kalah Shergat, but was especially impressed by that of Nimrûd; but it was not until the autumn of 1845, when Botta's work at Khorsabad was completed, that he succeeded in interesting Sir Stratford Canning, then Ambassador at Constantinople, and persuading him to share the expense of a short season of excavation in Assyria in the hope that, if it were successful, means would be forthcoming to continue it. It is to Layard's energy and Stratford Canning's influence and liberality that the greater part of the splendid Assyrian collections in the British Museum is due.

Layard went straight to Nimrûd, and almost at once began to find slabs carved with inscriptions, and presently some bas-reliefs. His work was much impeded by the local governor, who employed men to bring Moslem gravestones and plant them on the mound, so that he might then claim that the operations were disturbing a Moslem cemetery. The governor's representative at the excavations confessed to Layard, "We have destroyed more real tombs of the true believers in making sham ones than you could have defiled between the Zab and Selamiyah. We have killed our horses and ourselves in carrying those accursed stones." Layard was obliged to suspend ostensible

work, but carried on with a few workers, who continued to find sculptured slabs, until in the following spring the governor was recalled in disgrace, and his successor proved more friendly. Excavations were continued, and before long two great bas-reliefs, now familiar to visitors to the British Museum, representing winged figures (human- and eagle-headed) carrying ritual objects, were brought to light.

The next day a dramatic event occurred. Layard had been away, visiting an Arab chief, and was returning to the mound, when two of his men met him, riding at full speed, and greeting him with the news that they had found Nimrod himself. Riding up, he found an enormous and majestic head protruding from the soil at the bottom of the trench, which he readily recognized as belonging to a colossal human-headed bull or lion, such as had been found by Botta at Khorsabad. The news spread like wildfire. The Arab chief appeared with half his tribe, and after cautious examination pronounced, "This is not the work of men's hands, but of those infidel giants of whom the Prophet (peace be with him!) has said that they were higher than the tallest date-tree. This is one of the idols which Noah (peace be with him!) cursed before the Flood." The governor in Mosul was not very clear whether the bones of Nimrod had been discovered, or an image of him, nor, indeed, whether Nimrod was a true believer or not; but he asked that work might be suspended until the popular excitement had died down. This human-headed lion, with its counterpart, which formed the entrance into a chamber of the palace, stands now in the Nimrûd Central Saloon in the British Museum (Plate I).

Layard, like Botta, thought that he had discovered Nineveh; but the mound of Nimrûd actually represents the city of Calah (mentioned in Genesis x, 11), and the building which Layard was uncovering was the palace of Ashur-nasir-pal (884–859 B.C.), adjoining which, as was subsequently discovered, were later palaces of Shalmaneser III and Esarhaddon. In a small temple to the north

of the palace of Ashur-nasir-pal the interesting discovery was made of a statue of that king, about half life-size, which is the only extant representation of an Assyrian king in the round; it is now in the British Museum. But more interesting, especially from the point of view of the Bible student, was the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser, found in the palace of that king. As so often seems to happen in excavations, it was discovered just when the digging in that spot was about to be abandoned. It is a four-sided pillar in black marble, 6 feet 6 inches in height, tapering towards the top, with five registers of bas-reliefs continued round all sides, and texts between and below them (Plate II). It records the campaigns of Shalmaneser III (859–824 B.C.), and depicts the bringing of tribute by conquered kings. Among these, in the second row, is "Jehu, son of Omri," who offered gold, silver, lead, and various vessels, and Jehu or his representative prostrates himself before the Assyrian king. In the longer historical text at the bottom of the pillar Shalmaneser records his victory over Hazael, king of Damascus, whose whole camp he captured, with 1121 chariots and 470 horses. This is the Hazael whose accession to the throne of Damascus was foretold, if not promoted, by Elisha (1 Kings xix, 15; 2 Kings viii, 9–15).

Layard's work at Nimrûd was of the first importance for Assyrian studies. It was his first love in Assyria, and for some time it was only half-heartedly that he made some trial excavations in the mound of Kuyunjik. The real Nineveh was, however, there, and Layard, who after Botta's departure had with much shrewdness secured rights over the site, dug spasmodically between 1845 and 1847, with the assistance of Hormuzd Rassam, brother of the British Vice-Consul at Mosul. Layard was away in England from 1847 to 1849, but work continued in his absence; and on his return in 1849, until his final departure in 1851, Kuyunjik was the principal scene of his operations, with occasional brief episodes at Kalah Shergat (Ashur)

and elsewhere. Between them Layard and Rassam during these years cleared out over seventy chambers, with long series of bas-reliefs and colossal bulls and lions, of the kind already familiar from Nimrûd; but a discovery of the first importance was at first wholly overlooked. Both at Nimrûd and at Kuyunjik lumps of clay with cuneiform characters on them had casually come to light; but Layard, strangely enough, did not recognize them as written documents, regarding them as pottery curiously decorated. During his visit to England, however, Dr S. Birch, then an Assistant in the Department of Antiquities in the British Museum, enlightened him as to their character and importance, and Layard at once sent out instructions to collect all such pieces of pottery as could be found. Much had been irretrievably lost, especially at Nimrûd, but from Kuyunjik a large number of tablets were secured. But there were greater things to come.

Rassam went to England with Layard in 1851, and during his absence French operations were resumed. The French Government sent out Victor Place to continue Botta's work both at Khorsabad and at Kuyunjik. Rawlinson, then Consul-General at Baghdad, who had been invited by the Trustees of the British Museum to superintend the excavations in Mesopotamia on their behalf, made no objection, thinking the Kuyunjik site exhausted; but Rassam on his return informed Rawlinson of the rights acquired by Layard, and continued work unostentatiously, while Place was digging in another part of the mound. On being informed, however, by natives that Place was approaching a part of the mound to the north where they had reason to believe good finds might be made, Rassam set a large number of men to work secretly by night, with sensational results. On the third night (December 22, 1853) they broke into a chamber panelled with the magnificent reliefs of the lion-hunts of Ashur-bani-pal, which are the high-water mark of Assyrian sculpture, and in this chamber they also found quantities of clay tablets. Place

was, not unnaturally, much annoyed at Rassam's success; but the latter really had legal right on his side, and both the lion-hunt reliefs and the tablets are now rightfully in the British Museum.

Of these tablets more must be said, for from the historical and literary point of view they are the most important of all Layard's discoveries. Some twenty-five thousand in all were brought to London, but many were damaged in transit, and more by inexperienced handling when they arrived. When eventually deciphered, it became manifest that the tablets found by Layard came from the "Temple of Nebo at Nineveh," while those found by Rassam belonged to the Royal Library of Ashur-bani-pal.

The library of Nebo seems to have been in existence (no doubt under the control of the priests of the temple) at least from the time of Sargon (722–705 B.C.), but the other library was the creation of Ashur-bani-pal (669–626 B.C.), who must rank as the first great private collector of books known to history. In the colophon attached to the books of his own library he declares, "The wisdom of Nebo in writing of every kind, in tablets I wrote, collated, and revised, and for examination and reading in my palace I placed." He sent scribes to all the towns which possessed books—Ashur, Babylon, Cuthah, Nippur, Akkad, Erech—and in some cases recopied them himself when they arrived at Nineveh. He was interested in the literature of the Sumerians, who occupied Lower Mesopotamia (as we shall see in a later chapter) before the coming of the Semites, and compiled word-lists of their language. The tablets vary in size from less than an inch square for very short documents to as much as 15 by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Their contents are very various—letters, contracts, sales, loans, dictionaries, grammars, prayers, oracles, astrology, history, geography, law, and literature. We are thus amply supplied with documentary evidence for the beliefs, ritual, and history of the Assyrians in the great days of their empire.

One group of tablets, however, has a special importance for Bible study, and its discovery roused extreme interest. As a self-educated boy George Smith (1840–76) was deeply interested in the study of the Bible, especially the narrative books of the Old Testament. He got hold of the books of Layard and Rawlinson, and devoted all his spare time to study in the British Museum. His zeal attracted the attention of Birch, and he became first a 'repairer' and eventually an Assistant in Birch's department. By this time he could read the cuneiform script with ease, and showed great ingenuity in the restoration of mutilated tablets. The reduction of the Kuyunjik tablets to some sort of order was mainly his work, and he had his reward when in 1872 he came across a tablet containing the Assyrian legend of the Deluge. The discovery made a profound impression. A leading (and extremely self-satisfied) French Orientalist dashed over to London and claimed the publication of it, on the ground that all the Kuyunjik tablets ought to have come to France, and that Smith was no scholar. Naturally this claim was not admitted. Smith read his paper before a distinguished audience (including Mr Gladstone and Dean Stanley); and the proprietor of *The Daily Telegraph* offered to send him out to Mosul to search for further fragments of the Deluge legend. He went out accordingly in January 1873, and had the extraordinary (but well-deserved) good luck to find a fragment which filled the most important gap in the original tablet.

The story of the Deluge (to summarize the results of much subsequent research) is the eleventh tablet in a series of twelve which contain the legend of the hero Gilgamish (Plate III). It was no original part of the Gilgamish epic, but was foisted into it as an additional episode; it can therefore be treated separately. As we shall see in a later chapter, it is now known that the story existed in a different form in Lower Babylonia many centuries before Ashur-bani-pal. How old the Assyrian form is it is impossible

to say. According to it, Gilgamish visits his ancestor Uta-napishtim, on the shore beyond the "waters of death," and in the course of their conversation Uta-napishtim tells him the story of the Deluge. Some extracts [1] will show its points of resemblance to the narrative of Genesis, and also its differences:

The god Ea speaks to Uta-napishtim:

"O man of Shurippak [a very ancient town on the old course of the Euphrates],
Throw down the house, build a ship,
Forsake wealth, seek after life,
Abandon possessions, save thy life,
Carry grain of every kind into the ship.
The ship which thou shalt build,
The dimensions thereof shall be measured,
The breadth and the length thereof shall be the same.

. . . . . .

On the fifth day I decided upon its plan.
According to the plan its walls were ten *gar* [120 cubits] high,
And the circuit of the roof thereof was equally ten *gar*.
I measured out the hull thereof and marked it out,
I covered it six times.
Its exterior I divided into seven,
Its interior I divided into nine.
Water bolts I drove into the middle of it.
I provided a steering pole and fixed what was needful for it.
Six *sar* of bitumen I poured over the inside wall,
Three *sar* of pitch I poured into the inside.

. . . . . .

Before the sunset the ship was finished.

. . . . . .

With everything that I possessed I loaded it.

. . . . . .

I made to go up into the ship all my family and kinsfolk,
The cattle of the field, the beasts of the field, all handicraftsmen I made them go up into it.

[1] From the version printed by Sir Ernest Budge in *The Babylonian Story of the Deluge*, a pamphlet published by the British Museum.

The god Shamash had appointed me a time, saying
'The Power of Darkness will at eventide make a rain-flood to fall;
Then enter into thy ship and shut thy door.'
The appointed time drew nigh;
The Power of Darkness made a rain-flood to fall at eventide.
I watched the coming of the storm;
When I saw it, terror possessed me;
I went into the ship and shut my door.
To the pilot of the ship, Puzur-Bel, the sailor,
I committed the great house together with the contents thereof.
As soon as the gleam of dawn shone in the sky,
A black cloud from the foundation of heaven came up.
Inside it the god Adad thundered,
The gods Nabu and Sharru went before,
Marching as messengers over high land and plain.
Irragal tore out the post of the ship,
Enurta went on, he made the storm to descend,
The Annunaki brandished their torches,
With their glare they lighted up the land.

. . . . . .

A whole day long the flood descended,
Swiftly it mounted up, it reached to the mountains.

. . . . . .

The gods were terrified at the cyclone,
They betook themselves to flight and went up into the heaven of Anu.
The gods crouched like a dog and cowered by the wall,
The goddess Ishtar cried out like a woman in travail.

. . . . . .

For six days and nights
The storm raged and the cyclone overwhelmed the land.
When the seventh day approached the cyclone and the raging flood ceased.

. . . . . .

I looked over the sea and a calm had come,
And all mankind were turned into mud.

. . . . . .

After twelve days an island appeared.
The ship took its course to the land of Nisir.
The mountain of Nisir held the ship, it let it not move.

. . . . . .

When the seventh day had come
I brought out a dove and let her go free.
The dove flew away and came back;
Because she had no place to alight on she came back.
I brought out a swallow and let her go free.
The swallow flew away and came back;
Because she had no place to alight on she came back.
I brought out a raven and let her go free.
The raven flew away, she saw the sinking waters,
She ate, she pecked in the ground, she croaked, she came not back.

Then I brought out everything to the four winds, and offered up a sacrifice.

. . . . . .

The gods smelt the savour,
The gods smelt the sweet savour,
The gods gathered together like flies over him that sacrificed.

. . . . . .

Then the god Ea went up into the ship,
He seized me by the hand and brought me forth.
He brought forth my wife and made her to kneel by my side.
He turned our faces towards each other, he stood between us, he blessed us, saying,
'Formerly Uta-napishtim was a man merely,
But now let Uta-napishtim and his wife be like unto the gods ourselves.
Uta-napishtim shall dwell afar off, at the mouth of the rivers.'
And they took me away to a place afar off, and made me to dwell at the mouth of the rivers."

Such is the story of the Deluge as it appears in the Assyrian record from the library of Ashur-bani-pal. How early it goes back in this form it is impossible to say, since we know that Ashur-bani-pal collected his literature from earlier libraries. But we also know that the story circulated

in Mesopotamia in other forms. Berossus, a priest of Bel about 300 B.C., wrote a history of Babylonia in Greek based upon the native records, and among the passages from it which have survived in quotations by Christian writers is a narrative of the Deluge which, besides being much shorter, differs from the Assyrian legend in many details, while agreeing in so much that a common origin is certain. Here the part of Uta-napishtim is played by a king, Xisuthrus. He is warned of the coming flood, and is ordered to write a history of the world and bury it in the city of Sippara, then to build a ship and take on board his friends and relations and all sorts of animals. When the flood abates he sends out birds, which return without having found land whereon to settle. He sends them again after an interval, and they return with mud on their feet; on the third attempt they do not return. The ship strands on a mountain, and Xisuthrus comes out and offers sacrifice; after which he is translated to heaven, and his voice is heard instructing his relatives to search for the record at Sippara. The much earlier Sumerian form of the legend will be described in a later chapter.

The story of the Deluge was not the only part of the narrative of Genesis to be illustrated by George Smith's researches among the tablets from Kuyunjik. As early as 1870 he had found an allusion to the Creation; some more fragments were found among the tablets acquired by him during his expeditions of 1873–74, and yet others came to light as the result of the systematic examination of the Layard-Rassam collections, so that in 1876 he was able to publish his *Chaldæan Account of Genesis*, including the texts of a large number of imperfect tablets. Considerable additions were made to these by L. W. King, who in 1901–2 published what may be regarded as a definitive edition of the Babylonian-Assyrian story of the creation of the world.

As edited in the libraries of Nineveh the Creation story occupied seven tablets; but very little of it in any way illustrates or coincides with the narrative in Genesis. In

the main it is a glorification of the local god—Marduk at Babylon, Ashur at Kalah Shergat (Ashur), probably Enlil or Bel at Nippur. In the beginning of things, "when the heavens above were yet unnamed, and the name of the earth beneath had not been recorded," there was Apsu, or Chaos, and his consort Tiâmat. In a long procession of ages the gods and demons were produced, and divided themselves into the parties of good and evil. The great god Ea slew Apsu, and Tiâmat stirred up all the powers of evil to avenge him. The gods chose Marduk (in the Babylonian version) as their champion, and much of the story is occupied by the struggle between Marduk and Tiâmat, which is also the subject of artistic representation in bas-reliefs and seals. Marduk slays Tiâmat, and out of her body fashions the heaven and the earth. He set the stars in the heaven, he fixed the year, he appointed the moon-god to rule the night. Then he said to Ea, "I will solidify blood, I will form bone; I will set up man. 'Man' shall be his name. I will create the man Man." Then from the blood of Kingu, the principal adherent of Tiâmat, Ea created man, and laid service upon him, and Marduk then founded Babylon; and the epic ends with the celebration of the glory of Marduk.

It will be seen from this outline that there is almost nothing to link this narrative with that of Genesis—less, indeed, than George Smith believed. There are, of course, legends of creation all over the world, and some of them come much nearer to the Babylonian form than Genesis does. Closer study has shown that Smith was mistaken in thinking he had found references to Eve and the Temptation and the Tower of Babel, and it is not worth while to dwell longer on this particular set of legends.

George Smith made a second visit to Kuyunjik in 1874, this time under the auspices of the British Museum, and secured more tablets, but he was not successful as a digger. He understood neither Oriental ways nor the Oriental climate. He allowed the Turkish governor to deprive

him of many of his finds, not realizing that what the governor wanted was not tablets but *baksheesh*; and he could not control his workmen. Far worse than this, when he was sent out again in 1876 he got into hopeless difficulties in travelling. He travelled at the wrong seasons and hours and with insufficient food, and ignored all advice. His companion, a Finn, equally inexperienced, died before they reached Baghdad; and Smith, after finding it impossible to resume excavation in the height of the summer, set out to return with the tablets he had been able to buy from dealers, but was seized by dysentery and died at Aleppo. It was a tragic sacrifice, at the early age of thirty-six, of one who, while ill-adapted for field-work, had real genius as a museum worker. He made great contributions to Assyriology, and if he had been kept at home he would have reduced to order the masses of tablets by which the British Museum was then, and for some time after, overwhelmed.

It was unfortunate that the science of decipherment did not sufficiently precede the discovery of documents and inscriptions to enable the excavators of the latter to interpret their discoveries as they made them. Layard in his books can only describe vaguely monuments representing kings and sieges and battles, without being able, for the most part, to name the kings or to identify the events commemorated. It was only subsequently and gradually that the full value of his discoveries and those of Rawlinson, Rassam, and Smith became known. They included not only the tablets from the royal libraries, which were mostly either literary, legal, or commercial in their character, but also historical records and sculptured monuments.

The historical records are mostly in the form of large clay cylinders or prisms, which it was the custom to bury as foundation deposits under the corners of temples and other important buildings. These cylinders are of considerable size, sometimes as much as 20 inches high, occasionally barrel-shaped, but oftener in prism form, with from five to ten sides, inscribed in small characters,

and therefore containing a considerable amount of matter. They contain, as a rule, a chronicle of the king's reign up to date, summarizing his campaigns and setting out his building operations. Their historical value, therefore, even after making allowance for a natural tendency to glorify successes and ignore failures, is very great, and from them principally we have a secure outline of Assyrian history for the period covered by them. These are supplemented by a series of official lists. By Assyrian practice there was an annual official (like the Archon at Athens and the Consul at Rome) by whose name the year was described in official documents. Lists of these 'eponyms' (*limmu*) are preserved, and constitute an almost continuous table of years, which through the mention of an eclipse can be identified with the years 893–666 B.C. There are also lists of kings, transcribed from Babylonian chronicles, going back to prehistoric times, and memorial tablets of various kinds. Of the cylinders the earliest are those of Tiglath-Pileser I, the discovery of which was due to the acumen of Sir Henry Rawlinson. Hearing that J. E. Taylor had discovered foundation cylinders of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, under the temple of the moon-god at Ur, in Lower Mesopotamia, Rawlinson instructed Rassam in 1853 to go to Kalah Shergat, where Place had lately ceased work, and dig under the base of the ziggurat, or temple tower. Rassam did so, and found two cylinders of Tiglath-Pileser (1115–1103 B.C.), which recorded that the temple had been originally erected in 1820 B.C., and identified the site as that of Ashur, the earliest capital of Assyria. They also give a history of his campaigns. Other cylinder chronicles (all in the British Museum) are those of Sargon (722–705 B.C.), Sennacherib (705–681), Esarhaddon (681–669), Ashur-bani-pal (669–626), Nabopolassar (626–604), Nebuchadrezzar[1] (604–562), Nabonidus (556–539), and finally Cyrus (539–529). Of some of these kings there are more than one cylinder,

[1] This, according to scholars, is the correct form, as in Jeremiah xxi, 2.

relating to different periods of their reign, and, though the series is not complete, they furnish us with fuller documentary records than exist of any other nation, except the Hebrews, before the rise of the Greeks.

These records touch upon Bible history at various points. The first cylinder of Sennacherib, dated in 702, describes a campaign against Merodach-Baladan, vassal king of Babylon, who was constantly giving trouble to his overlords, and whose attempts to beguile Hezekiah were denounced by Isaiah (Isa. xxxix). Another, later in the same year, includes also a second campaign. Four others, in 700, repeat the narratives of these campaigns, and continue them to cover the invasion of Palestine and the submission of Hezekiah. Another, of 694, brings down the story of the reign to 695, and includes a full account of the rebuilding of Nineveh, with the names of its fifteen gates. The fullest account, however, of Sennacherib's operations against Judah is in a large six-sided prism of the year 686, which covers the whole of his first eight campaigns, from 703 to 689 (Plate IV). He recites the defeat and deposition of Merodach-Baladan, the subjugation of the Kassites and Medes, a naval expedition across the Persian Gulf in pursuit of rebels, the final reduction of both the Elamites and the Babylonians. The third campaign (in 701) included operations against Palestine. After defeating the Egyptians at Altaku he proceeded to invade the territory of Judah:

> I drew nigh to Ekron, and I slew the governors and princes who had transgressed, and I hung upon poles round about the city their dead bodies [such a scene appears on one of his bas-reliefs]; the people of the city who had done wickedly and had committed offences I counted as spoil, but those who had not done these things and who were not taken in iniquity I pardoned. I brought their king Padi forth from Jerusalem, and I stablished him upon the throne of dominion over them, and I laid tribute upon him. Then I besieged Hezekiah of Judah, who had not submitted to my yoke, and I captured forty-six of his strong cities and fortresses and innumerable

small cities which were round about them, with the battering of rams and the assault of engines and the attack of foot soldiers and by mines and breaches. I brought out therefrom 200,150 people, both small and great, male and female, and horses and mules and asses and camels and oxen, and innumerable sheep I counted as spoil. Himself [Hezekiah] like a caged bird I shut up within Jerusalem his royal city. I threw up mounds against him, and I took vengeance upon any man who came forth from his city. His cities which I had captured I took from him and gave to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, and Padi, king of Ekron, and Silli-Bel, king of Gaza, and I reduced his land. I added to their former yearly tribute, and I increased the gifts which they paid unto me. The fear of the majesty of my sovereignty overwhelmed Hezekiah, and the Urbi and his trusty warriors, whom he had brought into his royal city of Jerusalem to protect it, deserted. And he dispatched after me his messenger to my royal city Nineveh to pay tribute and to make submission with thirty talents of gold, eight hundred talents of silver, precious stones, eye-paint, ivory couches and thrones, hides and tusks, precious woods, and divers objects, a heavy treasure, together with his daughters and the women of his palace and male and female musicians.

Such is the Assyrian description.[1] The Hebrew narrative is briefer with regard to the humiliations suffered by Judah, but does not deny them (2 Kings xviii, 13–16):

Now in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah did Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them. And Hezekiah king of Judah sent to the king of Assyria to Lachish, saying, I have offended; return from me: that which thou puttest on me will I bear. And the king of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah king of Judah three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold. And Hezekiah gave him all the silver that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house. At that time did Hezekiah cut off the gold from the doors of the temple of the Lord, and from the pillars which Hezekiah king of Judah had overlaid, and gave it to the king of Assyria.

Of the subsequent events—the mission of the Assyrian

[1] The translation is taken from the British Museum *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities* (1922), pp. 226–227.

chiefs to Jerusalem, their repulse by Hezekiah, the encouragement of Isaiah, and the catastrophe to Sennacherib's army—much is said in the Hebrew annals, but nothing in the Assyrian. Some have held that there has been confusion between this campaign of Sennacherib and a campaign of Esarhaddon in 675, which is said to have ended in a retreat by reason of a storm. The mention of Tirhakah in 2 Kings xix, 9, requires a later date than 700, since that king only began to reign in 689. It would seem necessary, therefore, to suppose that an interval must be interposed at 2 Kings xviii, 16, and that all that follows relates to a later campaign, towards the end of Sennacherib's reign. This would suit well with 2 Kings xix, 36, 37, which implies first that Sennacherib's return to Assyria was the result of the disaster to his army, and secondly that his assassination followed shortly afterwards, and was perhaps one of the repercussions of the disaster. The embassy of Rabshakeh also would have been unnecessary immediately after the complete submission of Hezekiah recorded in 2 Kings xviii, 13–16, so that an interval, with a fresh revolt of Hezekiah, seems to be implied. On the other hand, the disaster must be brought into close connexion with the embassy, for otherwise it is difficult to account for Sennacherib's tame acceptance of the repulse of his officers and the raising of the siege of Jerusalem. That there is no record of the incident in the Assyrian annals is not surprising, for autocrats do not generally advertise their defeats if they can help it. Moreover, there is no so complete record of the latter part of Sennacherib's reign as there is of his first fourteen years. That the disaster occurred to an army of Sennacherib, and not of any other king, is independently confirmed from Egyptian sources by Herodotus (ii, 141).

Sennacherib's methods of warfare, as described above, are amply confirmed and illustrated by the sculptures. A bas-relief of the siege of Lachish (*cf.* 2 Kings xviii, 17; 2 Chron. xxxii, 9) shows an armoured car being propelled

PLATE II

THE BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION

From "Sculptures and Inscriptions of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistun" (published by the Trustees of the British Museum)

THE BLACK OBELISK OF SHALMANESER

British Museum

DELUGE TABLET FROM THE LIBRARY OF ASHUR-BANI-PAL

British Museum

BAS-RELIEF OF THE SIEGE OF LACHISH BY SENNACHERIB

British Museum

up a steep slope against the fortress, with a pointed battering-ram projecting from its front which is dislodging stones from the walls, and with archers behind it delivering covering fire (Plate III). The defenders throw down blazing torches to set the machine on fire, and one of the assailants, under cover of the hood of the car, ladles out water to extinguish them. On other slabs archers are seen shooting from behind screens; mining and incendiary work is going on at the foot of the walls, and impaled captives are seen outside. Another relief in the Lachish series shows Sennacherib seated on a throne on a hill outside the town, with officers, attendants, and soldiers about him, and captives from the town brought before him. The cuneiform legend attached to the scene says, "Sennacherib, King of Hosts, King of Assyria, sat upon his throne of state, and the spoil of the city of Lachish passed before him."

A chronicle tablet, with a list of the principal events in Assyrio-Babylonian history from 744 to 668 B.C., records the fact that Sennacherib was assassinated by his son on a certain day in the twenty-third year of his reign (*cf.* 2 Kings xix, 37). The cylinders of Esarhaddon are confined mainly to his genealogy and his building works (see, however, pp. 147–148); but of Ashur-bani-pal there are two large prisms with accounts of his campaigns against Egypt (in which he was accompanied by contingents from Cyprus, Syria, and Palestine), Tyre, Lydia (whose king, Gyges, first sought the assistance of Assyria against the Cimmerians, but afterwards went over to an Egyptian alliance), and Elam (where, after a series of campaigns which are depicted also in a set of bas-reliefs, its capital Susa was taken and sacked). Several other cylinders of Ashur-bani-pal record his building operations, chiefly at Babylon.

From the later empire of Babylon cylinders are extant of Nabopolassar, Nebuchadrezzar, and Nabonidus, but they are mainly concerned with building operations. These illustrate very well the boast of the king (Dan. iv, 30):

"Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" One, which deals with the tower of Borsippa, near Babylon, records that an ancient king had built it to the height of forty-two cubits, but that the upper portion of it had never been finished, and that heavy rains and storms had broken down the walls and stripped off their facings. This story recalls the legend of the Tower of Babel, and perhaps accounts for it. The cylinders of Nabonidus, found at Ur, have already been referred to. In one of them he prays for his eldest son, Belshazzar; in another he records the finding of foundation tablets of some of the very early kings of Babylonia, whose restoration to the light of history for us has been due to the discoveries of the twentieth century, to be described later. Finally, to close the history of Babylonia, it is interesting to have a cylinder of its last conqueror, Cyrus (Plate IV), recording this event thus:[1]

> He [the god Marduk] sought out a righteous prince, a man after his own heart, whom he might take by the hand; and he called his name Cyrus, King of Anshan, and he proclaimed his name for sovereignty over the whole world. . . . He commanded him to go to Babylon, and he caused him to set out on the road to that city, and like a friend and ally he marched by his side; and his troops, with their weapons girt about them, marched with him in countless numbers, like the waters of a flood. Without battle and without fighting Marduk made him enter into his city of Babylon; he spared Babylon tribulation, and Nabonidus, the king who feared him not, he delivered into his hand.

Against this set the Biblical passages:

> Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him, and I will loose the loins of kings; to open the doors before him, and the gates shall not be shut; I will go before thee, and make the rugged places plain: I will break in pieces the doors of brass,

[1] *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities* (British Museum, 1922), p. 144.

and cut in sunder the bars of iron: and I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places, that thou mayest know that I am the Lord, which call thee by thy name, even the God of Israel.[1]

In that night Belshazzar the Chaldean king was slain.[2]

Little more is necessary to complete this first portion of the history of Mesopotamian archæology, which deals with the decipherment of the cuneiform script and the great excavations in Assyria. A few isolated discoveries are of sufficient importance to be recorded. By a friendly arrangement with the French excavator Place, Rawlinson in 1854 secured for the British Museum two magnificent human-headed bulls from the palace of Sargon at Khorsabad. These now stand at the entrance to the Assyrian Transept in the Museum, facing the slightly smaller pair of human-headed lions from the palace of Ashur-nasir-pal at Nimrûd, and are without doubt the most impressive products of Assyrian sculpture in existence. In return Place was allowed to take a large number of sculptures from Kuyunjik, after Rawlinson had completed his selection. Unfortunately, many of these were lost by the capsizing of a raft while they were being ferried down the Tigris.

After George Smith's death, Layard being now Ambassador at Constantinople, where the influence of Great Britain, on account of the Russo-Turkish war, was high, Rassam was again sent out to resume work at Kuyunjik early in 1878. Here he was shown some large bronze plates, with figures in relief, which were said to have been dug up at a place called Balâwât, about twenty miles east of Mosul. There is some doubt about the locality, as subsequent visitors could find no one who had heard of them at Balâwât; but, wherever they came from, the find was an important one. The excavations which Rassam undertook on the spot, wherever it was, revealed a massive

[1] Isa. xlv, 1–3. [2] Dan. v, 30.

pair of wooden gates, plated all over with bronze reliefs, representing campaigns of Shalmaneser III in the years 860–849. Out of sixteen bands of sculpture the greater part of thirteen are in the British Museum, while some fragments of three are elsewhere. The original wood backing of the plates has entirely perished. The bands represent a great variety of military operations—infantry, cavalry, archers, and chariots in action, sieges, marches, the slaughter of enemies and capture of prisoners, with a great variety of racial detail in respect of clothes. The campaigns ranged over Armenia, the empire of the Hittites, Syria, Phœnicia, Lower Babylonia. Of the Hittites we shall hear much in a later chapter; here Shalmaneser describes his victory over them:

> I, Shalmaneser, the mighty king, the sun of all peoples, who has conquered from the sea of the land of Nairi [Lake Van] and the sea of the land of Zamûa [Lake Urmiah] and the Great Sea of Amurru [the Mediterranean], overwhelmed the land of Khatti in its whole extent, so that it became like a mound left by the deluge. Forty-four thousand four hundred strong warriors I carried away from their lands, and as inhabitants of my own land I counted them. My lordly splendour I poured out over the land of Khatti. . . . I marched to the Great Sea; I washed my weapons in the Great Sea; I offered sacrifices to my gods.[1]

From 1878 to 1882 Rassam continued excavations, but in a haphazard and rambling way, often impeded by difficulties with the authorities. He acquired some hundreds of tablets, but the chief result of his searches and Smith's was to set the natives on the track, and to establish the trade in tablets which thenceforward became the chief way in which the museums of Europe replenished their stores. Hundreds of thousands thus passed into safe keeping; but probably as many more perished through unskilful handling, and all record of the places of discovery was lost.

[1] *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser*, edited by L. W. King (1915), p. 17.

Further excavations were made in later years in Assyria, some of which will be mentioned later, but the great days of the discovery of huge bulls and lions and of scores of yards of sculptured bas-reliefs were over; and here this chapter may close. Nothing has been said of excavations in Babylonia, but in truth these were small and unimportant, and will be better mentioned in connexion with the more fruitful researches which followed in the twentieth century. Lower Mesopotamia is not a stone country, and its architecture was mainly in brick. Layard and his contemporaries, who made trial excavations on a few sites, were disappointed by the results, and quickly returned to Assyria, where their work was so richly rewarded. It was left to a later generation to find that the soil of Babylonia held the treasures and the secrets of civilizations going back thousands of years before the empire of Assyria—to the first syllable of recorded time. The story of these excavations, which revealed whole new departments of human art and thought and life, will be told in a later chapter.

CHAPTER III

EGYPT

Archæological research, in the scientific sense of the term, took its start in Egypt at about the same time as in Mesopotamia, but in very different conditions. The great monuments of Egypt had never been wholly buried under sand, as were those of Assyria. The giant Pyramids of Gizeh and lesser pyramids elsewhere had towered over the land for five thousand years without intermission; the great temples of Karnak and Luxor were only partially concealed by the accumulated drift of ages. Travellers had brought back reports of these monuments ever since the days of the Greeks. Their existence was well known, though the details of their history were dark. Yet even on the side of history somewhat more was known of Egypt than of Assyria. It was nearer to Greece than Assyria, and there was more intercourse between the peoples. Herodotus devotes far more space to Egyptian history than to Assyrian; and although, through some curious displacement in his notes, the pyramid-builders of the IVth Dynasty are interpolated after the Ramessides of the XIXth, Cheops and Sesostris are not such wholly legendary figures as Ninus and Sardanapalus. Solon and Plato respected the learning of the Egyptians. The reputation of Egypt would have survived through Greek tradition and its visible monuments, while Assyria would have been known almost wholly through the mentions of it in the Old Testament.

Nevertheless, down to the very end of the eighteenth century no more authentic knowledge was available with regard to Egypt than was to be found in Herodotus; and that we know infinitely more to-day is the service of archæology. Its beginning is remarkable. Archæology

entered Egypt in the train of a military conqueror. French Governments have always realized their duty towards the artistic and historical monuments of countries under their control far more than has been the habit of English Governments; and when the young Napoleon Bonaparte set out in 1798 to conquer Egypt and thereafter the world he took with him a corps of savants to investigate and report on the antiquities of the country. The temptation, and even the possibility, of a return to their native land was removed from them by the destruction of the French fleet at the battle of the Nile. They were, therefore, able to pursue their survey of the monuments undisturbed until the final capitulation of the French forces in 1801; and the result is still to be seen in the eighteen magnificent volumes of the *Description de l'Égypte*, published in 1809–22. It is a splendid monument of French scholarship and the spirit of French administration.

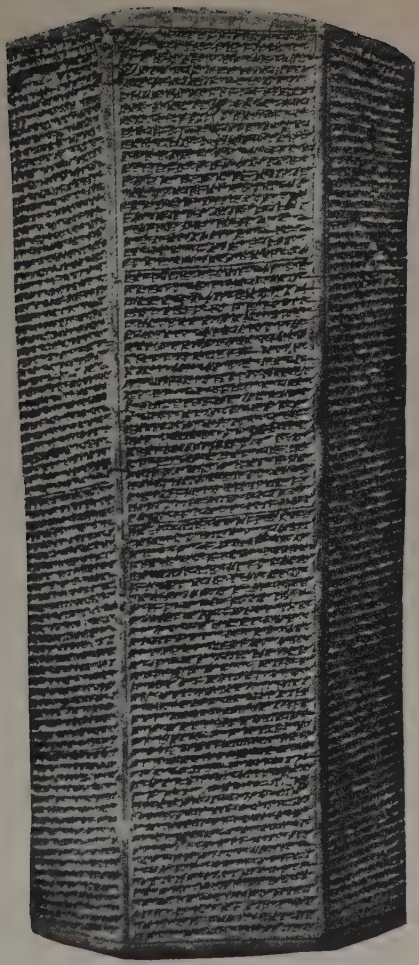
The French savants could take away their notes, but the monuments they had collected became part of the spoil of war. Indeed, the great Egyptian collections of the British Museum are founded on these captures; and the initial addition to the Montagu House which had sufficed for the first fifty years of the Museum's existence was made by a special grant of Parliament to accommodate "these memorable trophies of national glory." Among them was a massive, irregular fragment of stone, unimpressive to the eye, which now bears the legend still faintly visible on its side, "Captured by the British Army, 1802," but which became more celebrated than all the rest and is now one of the objects which every visitor to the Museum feels bound to see. This is the Rosetta Stone, famous as having provided the key for the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphs (Plate V).

The stone was found in August 1798 by a French officer named Boussard or Bouchard, who was engaged in improving the fortifications of Rosetta. Being seen to be inscribed, it was removed to Cairo, where the savants

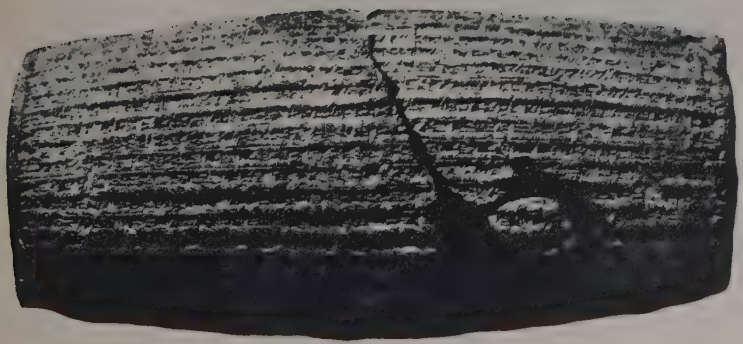
realized its importance as bearing an inscription in three languages, one of which was Greek. Napoleon himself saw it, and gave orders for copies to be prepared and sent to Paris, and in 1801 two copies reached the Institut, while the stone itself, after a strenuous effort by General Menou to retain it as his private property, arrived in London in February 1802. Its nature was obvious at once, since the Greek text, which could be read easily, ended with an instruction that the decree should be inscribed on stone in hieroglyphic, demotic, and Greek characters. Of these three texts the demotic was intact and the Greek nearly so, but of the hieroglyphic a large portion had been broken away. Nevertheless, quite enough remained for the stone to constitute a challenge to European scholars to solve the problem of the two Egyptian scripts, one of which, the hieroglyphic, was the semi-pictorial writing which appeared on the monuments, the other, a cursive writing, ultimately derived from the hieroglyphic, being used for everyday purposes.

The challenge was taken up without delay. The Society of Antiquaries of London, with whom the stone was provisionally deposited, lost no time in sending casts of the stone to the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, and Dublin, and facsimiles were circulated to a number of foreign universities and academies. From the Greek text it was known that the inscription contained a decree by the priests of all Egypt assembled at Memphis in the year 197–196 B.C. in honour of Ptolemy V (Epiphanes). This, however, was in itself of no very great importance; the problem was on the basis of the Greek to find the key to the hieroglyphic and demotic scripts. The first attempts were made on the demotic. In 1802 (the same year in which Grotefend published the first contribution to the decipherment of cuneiform) the Frenchman Silvestre de Sacy and the Swede J. D. Akerblad published the demotic equivalents of some proper names in the Greek, while the latter put forth a complete demotic alphabet, fourteen of

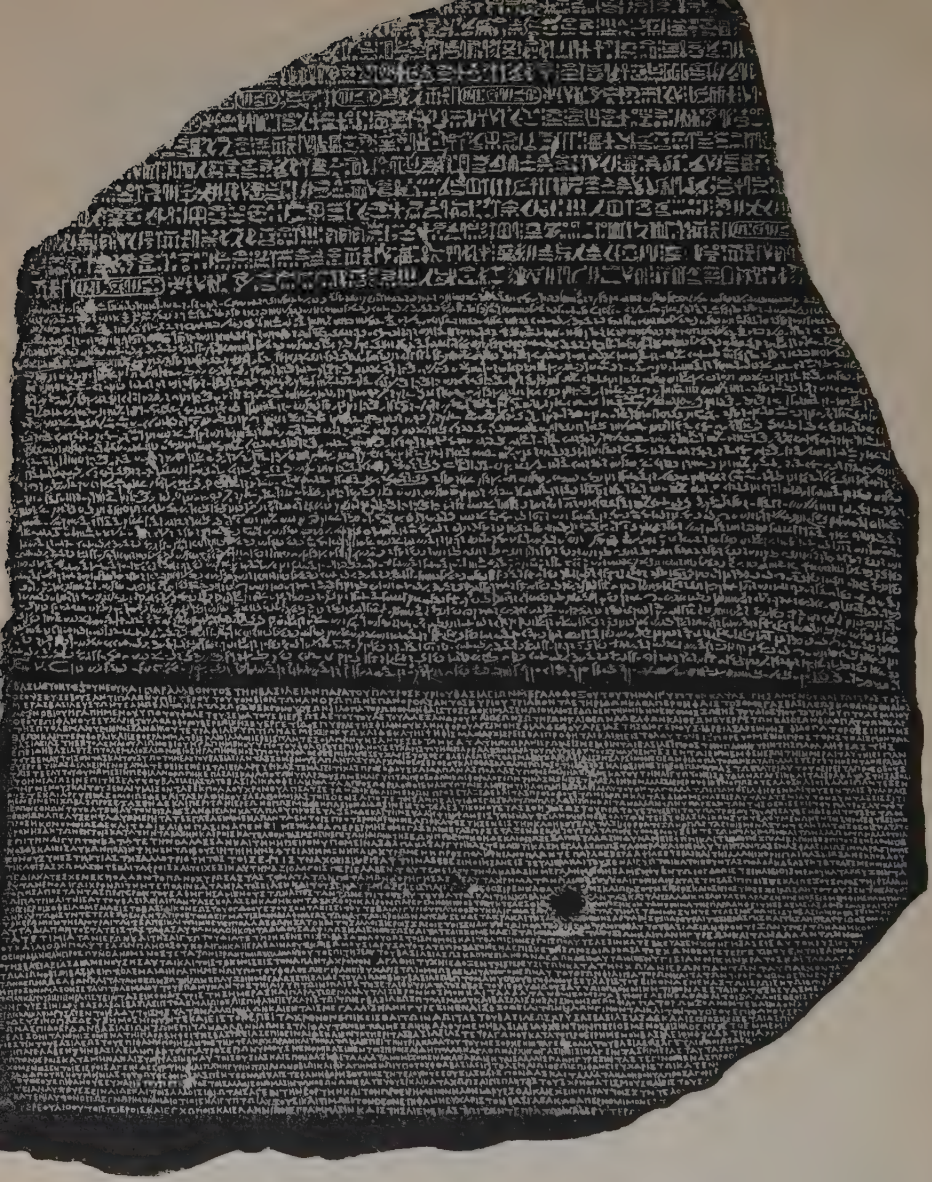
PLATE IV



CLAY PRISM OF SENNACHERIB, 686 B.C.
British Museum



CYLINDER OF CYRUS
British Museum



THE ROSETTA STONE
British Museum

the characters in which were correct. It was not till many years later that the comprehension of demotic made much further progress.

It was, however, the hieroglyphic text that mattered most, since it was at once the earliest form of the language and that which was employed in its earliest and most important inscriptions, while the literary texts in hieroglyphic and its immediate descendant, hieratic, far exceeded in value those in demotic. One or two quite unsuccessful attempts were made in the early years after the discovery of the stone, but the first real step forward was achieved by Thomas Young, a medical doctor with an extraordinary gift for languages and a versatile mind. He had not previously concerned himself with Egyptology, but in 1814 he was attracted to it by the sight of a demotic manuscript brought by a friend from Egypt. He began with the demotic, but made no progress in it beyond the work of Akerblad, and then turned his attention to the hieroglyphic text of the Rosetta Stone. It had already been suggested that certain groups of signs which were enclosed in oval frames (called 'cartouches') might be proper names. One of these he identified, from its position as compared with the Greek text, as *Ptolemaios*, and on this basis he enunciated for the first time two facts of vital importance: first, that the hieroglyphs (or some of them) had alphabetic values, and, secondly, that the text read from left to right. Young's results were published in a supplement to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* in 1819, where, besides giving the values of a few of the hieroglyphic characters, he made some attempt at identifying hieroglyphic words with their equivalents in Coptic, a form of writing in which the Egyptian language, as it existed about the end of the first century after Christ, was written in Greek characters (with a few additions to represent particular sounds not covered by the Greek alphabet).

Young had made a beginning, but did not get far; and the real father of the decipherment of the hieroglyphs was

a Frenchman, J. F. Champollion. Devoted from boyhood to Oriental studies, he was led to apply himself to the Rosetta texts and other similar ones then known. At first he denied that the hieroglyphic characters were alphabetic. Whether Young's publications, which he seems certainly to have seen, though he always denied that he owed anything to him, put him on the right track is uncertain; but there is no doubt that, working on the same lines as Young, which were also those employed by Grotefend in the decipherment of Persian cuneiform (that is, the comparison of proper names and titles, which in the case of Egyptian could be certainly identified from the Greek texts), Champollion had by 1822 carried the decipherment a great deal further than Young had ever done, and had firmly laid the foundations for the solution of the whole problem. His *Lettre à M. Dacier, relative à l'alphabet des hiéroglyphes phonétiques employés par les Égyptiens* (Paris, 1822) is the truly epoch-making work in this department of knowledge.

The value of the characters having been ascertained from the proper names, the other parts of the text could be tentatively transliterated. Here material assistance could be given by Coptic, for, though Coptic represented a very late form of the language, it could at least suggest possible forms for Egyptian words. Like all decipherments of unknown tongues, the working out of details was a long and laborious task, in which many scholars have taken part, and which it would be quite out of place to try to describe here. It is sufficient to know that by the second quarter of the nineteenth century the key had been found, and that scholars were in a position to make use of the material which was now beginning to flow in on them. We can now, therefore, turn to the history of discovery in Egypt, and to the assistance to be derived from it for Biblical studies.

In the story of Assyrian discoveries the first place was necessarily given to English explorers, but in Egypt, although many nations have done good work there, the

primacy must surely be given to France. It was the French expedition under Bonaparte that threw the doors open wide to archæological research; it was a Frenchman who really mastered the decipherment of hieroglyphics; it was a Frenchman who put an end to the indiscriminate pillaging of the monuments; it was a succession of Frenchmen who administered the Department of Antiquities from its first establishment down to our own day. Even when Egypt passed in 1882 into the tutelage of Great Britain the administration of antiquities was handed over to France, to sooth disappointed French feeling; and that arrangement remained in force until Egypt took over the control of her own house. In our own day the name of Gaston Maspero has stood out conspicuously above all others; but perhaps the greatest credit is due to Auguste Mariette for his heroic efforts to purge the Augean stable which archæological Egypt had become by the middle of the century.

For fifty years after the expedition of Bonaparte Egyptian antiquities were given over to be the prey of plunderers of all sorts, some with a slight knowledge of Egyptology, but mostly native dealers and diggers whose only object was cash profits. The museum authorities of the chief European capitals were eager to obtain sarcophagi, stelæ, mummies, papyri, and minor antiquities for their collections; tourists in Egypt picked up souvenirs to bring home; and neither they nor the dealers who supplied their needs gave the smallest consideration to the requirements of scientific digging—requirements which, it is fair to remember, were entirely unappreciated at that time or for some generations afterwards. The purchasers asked for objects, and the diggers rummaged likely spots for objects, and extracted them without the smallest regard for the surroundings in which they were found. Indeed, statements by natives as to the *locale* of their finds were (and still are) more likely to be misleading than not, since they had no wish to attract rivals (or, worst of all, scientific diggers) to their private gold-mines. No doubt in very many cases they depreciated

the value of their own wares by their unscientific methods, as, for instance, when a manuscript would be torn into pieces so that each of the finders might have his share. In this way parts of a single manuscript might reach European museums through different hands.[1] Very much also must have perished altogether; nevertheless, many important acquisitions were made by the European museums. Among these may be mentioned the fine sarcophagus of Seti I, acquired by Belzoni, now in the Soane Museum; the great Harris Papyrus of Rameses III, the longest papyrus known, containing a panegyric on the king's achievements, and therefore of historical value; the collections of Salt, Caviglia, Gardner Wilkinson, and Vyse; the obelisk of Amenhotep II at Alnwick; the obelisk of Rameses II in the Place de la Concorde at Paris; the Prisse Papyrus at Paris, the oldest literary manuscript on papyrus extant; and many more. We must be thankful that so much survived, but it is tragic to think how much perished.

The first person to attempt to curb this unbridled plundering, to secure respect for the monuments and a proper preservation of them in their own land, was Auguste Mariette. His appearance on the scene was quite fortuitous. Sent out by the Louvre in 1850 with a sum of money to buy Coptic manuscripts, he lit upon the great avenue of sphinxes which, as Strabo had recorded, led up to the Serapeum, or Temple of Osiris-Apis, near Memphis. It had long been buried beneath the sand, but natives had found it, and were surreptitiously supplying their clients with sphinxes derived from it. When Mariette happened by accident on the site he promptly abandoned his Coptic manuscripts, spent all

[1] Of the large papyrus containing three of the lost orations of Hyperides, now in the British Museum, part was sold by natives to J. Arden in January 1847, and another part (much mutilated) was at the same time sold to A. C. Harris. But evidently a number of fragments were kept back, and were used to give a specious appearance to dummy rolls concocted out of worthless papyrus scraps for sale to travellers. In this way thirteen fragments reached the Louvre before 1868, six turned up in the library of Rossall School in 1892, and four (still adorning a dummy roll) were brought to the British Museum in 1894, having just been acquired by a tourist in Egypt.

his money on clearing the avenue, and urgently demanded more. The Serapis temple itself had disappeared, but 141 sphinxes of the avenue were discovered, together with the huge ranges of subterranean vaults in which the bodies of the Apis bulls (regarded as successive incarnations of Osiris) were buried.

Mariette's life was thenceforward devoted to Egypt. He was put in charge of the Service des Antiquités, as the result of a political bargain between the Khedive, Prince Napoleon, and Ferdinand de Lesseps, and thenceforward fought a desperate battle alike against his master, who cared nothing for antiquities and repeatedly sought to mortgage them, and the dealers, diggers, and foreign emissaries who did not wish to be impeded in their lucrative pursuits. With great difficulty he obtained some derelict and ramshackle buildings which he could call a museum, and there began to assemble the collection which now, after various changes of habitation, is one of the principal glories of Cairo. He eventually secured the favour of the Khedive Said by a characteristic display of vigour. He heard that his workmen had discovered near Thebes a fine gilded sarcophagus, but that the local Mudir had seized it, opened it, appropriated the gold jewellery which he found inside it, and was hurrying down the river to acquire merit by presenting it to the Khedive. Mariette at once dashed off in his official steamer to meet him, wrested the treasure from him by personal violence, and hastened back to Cairo to get in his tale first with the Khedive. The Khedive thoroughly appreciated the discomfiture of the Mudir, and authorized the building of a new museum at Bulak.

For thirty years Mariette worked to secure monuments for the Egyptian national collection. His methods were not, indeed, scientific. In Egypt, as in Mesopotamia, all that mattered was to secure objects—monuments, bas-reliefs, paintings, manuscripts, mummies, faience, etc.—without much reference to the circumstances of their

finding, or to the destruction of evidence often involved in their finding. Mariette was not in advance of his time, but he was wholehearted in his devotion to Egyptian antiquities. It is not surprising that his hand was against every man, for nearly every man's hand was against him.

That state of things was not peculiar, however, to Mariette or to Egypt. Both in Egypt and in Babylonia, and, indeed, throughout the East generally, the interest of the native inhabitants is always against that of the Government. The native cares nothing for preserving in the country the ancient monuments of the land; he only wants to make money out of selling them. And if, as too often happens, the official attitude is to prohibit all export of antiquities, the invariable result is corruption and smuggling. Ample examples of this, with a fund of amusing stories, are to be found in *By Nile and Tigris* (1920), the reminiscences of Sir Ernest Budge, who could speak from inside experience. The only remedy is to encourage excavation by reputable and competent institutions and individuals and to allow them a fair share of the proceeds of their excavations in return for their expense and labour. In a country such as Egypt or Mesopotamia there is enough to meet all the needs of the country itself, and yet to leave an ample supply of all except the absolutely unique objects to satisfy the excavator and the institution he represents. By such an equitable partition excavation by responsible bodies is encouraged, the country of origin receives quantities of accessions for its museum at no expense, the inhabitants benefit by the money spent by the foreigners, the museums of the excavator's country acquire a representative selection of the objects found, and science gains by the additions made to knowledge. But it is very difficult to bring these truths home to a Government, especially when it is anxious to assert its nationalism, and does not realize that the reputation of a country gains when a knowledge of the products of its art and history is diffused abroad.

It would be unfair, however, to leave the impression that Egypt, archæologically speaking, was nothing but a scene of unlicensed plundering. In 1828 a survey of the monuments was undertaken by Rosellini and Champollion, and their *Monumenti storichi dell' Egitto e della Nubia*, in ten volumes, is a worthy sequel to the *Description de l'Égypte*. Colonel Howard Vyse in 1837 made careful measurements of the Pyramids, and in 1840 Germany entered the field in the person of C. R. Lepsius, who traversed not only Egypt, but Nubia and Sinai, recording the monuments which he visited in a series of *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* (1849–58). Scholars thenceforward had a full survey of the archæological riches of Egypt, so far as they were visible above ground. English readers were familiarized with them by the drawings of David Roberts (1855) and the learned works of Sir John Gardner Wilkinson.

Mariette died in 1881, on the eve of the establishment of the British protectorate, and was succeeded by Gaston Maspero, the distinguished scholar who did so much to familiarize the ordinary intelligent reader with the history of the ancient East. It cannot be said that the administration of antiquities under his rule was wholly satisfactory. He was not always well served by his staff. The buildings in which the collections were housed were wholly inadequate and unsafe, and had the reputation of being leaky not only through the roof. Still, he was a genial administrator, who kept on good terms with all, and things might have been much worse. Under his encouragement scientific excavations by foreign institutions were undertaken, and in 1883 the Egypt Exploration Fund (now Society) began its campaigns, which have continued for more than fifty years. Other societies and other countries joined in from time to time, working on sites allotted to them by the Department of Antiquities. Especially good and continuous work was done by America. In this way great buildings, such as the temples of Deir el-Bahari, were uncovered, the earliest periods of prehistoric Egypt

were revealed at Abydos, the city of the "heretic king," Amenhotep IV or Akhenaten, was discovered at Amarna. Many tombs were excavated, and the sculptured or painted scenes on their walls were made known, while minor antiquities, such as scarabs, beads, ushabti figures, faience pots, and the like, multiplied exceedingly. One special department, the search for Greek papyri, will be dealt with in a separate chapter.

This is not a history of Egyptian archæology, and it would be out of place even to summarize the progress of research. One excavator, however, deserves special mention, as having raised the standard of excavation technique to a higher level. This was Mr (now Sir) W. Flinders Petrie, whose life of work in Egypt and the adjoining countries began in 1881 with an accurate survey of the pyramids of Gizeh. This was the beginning of the attention to *minutiæ* which has been the special characteristic of his work. Formerly excavators had their eyes open only for large or important objects; broken pottery, of which almost every ancient site is full, was ignored. Petrie, however, realized that fashions of domestic pottery, shapes of vases, material, colouring, and other details change from generation to generation; that the successive periods of occupation of a site can be recognized by the fragments of broken pottery found in successive layers; and that by a multitude of observations there can be constructed a sort of chronological scale which is applicable to any fresh site that may be opened up in the same country. Definite dates for some of these layers can be obtained from coins or scarabs found in them, and then the scale can become absolute instead of merely relative.

All this is the ABC of excavation now, and the technique of digging has become increasingly minute and scientific; but it was new then, and to Petrie more than to anyone else is due the credit for its introduction. The importance of little things, the precise observation of the positions of objects found, the careful day-to-day record of work done,

the meticulous indication on each object, however small, of its place of discovery—all these are means towards scientific accuracy which are quite alien to the methods of diggers of the age of Layard and Mariette; and Petrie's merit as the inaugurator of these methods, which others have carried further since, should not be forgotten. From him may be said to date the modern era of archæology.

The bearing of Egyptian archæology on Biblical studies will be best shown by a reference to the general results of a hundred and forty years of excavation, rather than by a description of individual excavations, most of which have nothing to do with the subject. The antiquities of Egypt may be classified in a few main groups. There are the pyramids, especially the colossal three at Gizeh, of which one can only say that they, together with the great Sphinx, were there when the Israelites were in Egypt, and must have been impressive then as now. There are the lesser tombs, which provide a wonderful series of representations (carved or painted) of the daily life of the Egyptians—their agriculture, their industries, their sports, their homes (Plate VI). There are the great temples, often with inscriptions, generally only honorific. There are the mummies and the tomb furniture, which tell us something of Egyptian beliefs. And there are the literary texts, whether inscribed on stone or written on papyrus.

Now, in all this it must be admitted that there is disappointingly little that bears directly upon the Bible record. Egypt was so constantly in contact with Palestine, from the time of Joseph (or even of Abraham) until the fugitives from the Babylonian conquest sought refuge there, that we might have hoped to find some reference to Jewish history in the Egyptian records. In particular it has been natural to look for some reference to the Exodus, that event which burnt itself so indelibly into the Jewish memory. But the fact that such references are wholly wanting admits of explanation. The Egyptians were not historically minded, as the Assyrians were. There are no such chronicle

texts as are found in the foundation cylinders of the Assyrian kings, and only exceptionally are there records of campaigns. Autocrats in their self-laudatory inscriptions, of which there are examples enough, do not generally refer to the less pleasing incidents of their reign. Consequently the fact that no reference to the Exodus has been found in Egyptian records proves nothing either way with regard to its historicity.

So far as the Egyptian monuments are concerned, the most that can be said is that the scenes depicted on the walls of the tombs show us the surroundings among which the Israelites lived in Egypt. Similarly some of the Egyptian literature has analogies with certain of the Jewish books. Two of the earliest Egyptian works, "The Teaching of Kagemna" and "The Teaching of Ptah-hetep," consist of moral admonitions not unlike those in the book of Proverbs; but the difference in date is so great (the Egyptian treatises are extant in a manuscript of about 2000 B.C.) that one can say no more than that such gnomic literature existed in Egypt, and may have had some influence in Palestine.

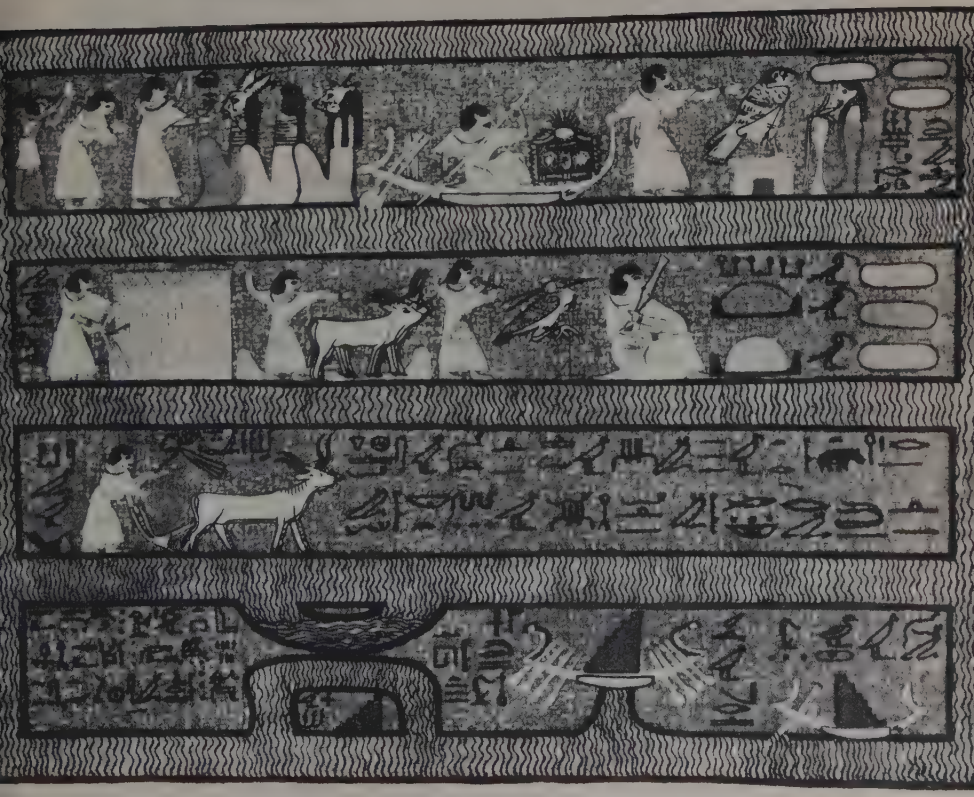
A few isolated discoveries can, however, be mentioned which have some bearing on Israelite history, and specifically on the date of the Exodus. In Exodus i, 11, it is stated that the Israelites, after the accession of the new king which knew not Joseph, "built for Pharaoh store cities, Pithom and Raamses." In 1883 Professor E. Naville, excavating for the Egypt Exploration Fund, identified the site of Pithom, near the modern Ismailia, and subsequently Petrie found Raamses in a mound a few miles west. The name of the latter town is itself evidence that it was built in the time of one of the kings of that name, and the mound contains a temple of Rameses II (*c.* 1292–1225 B.C.). This has accordingly been regarded as a proof that Rameses II was the Pharaoh of the oppression, and that the Exodus took place in the reign of his son Merenptah (1233–1223 B.C.).

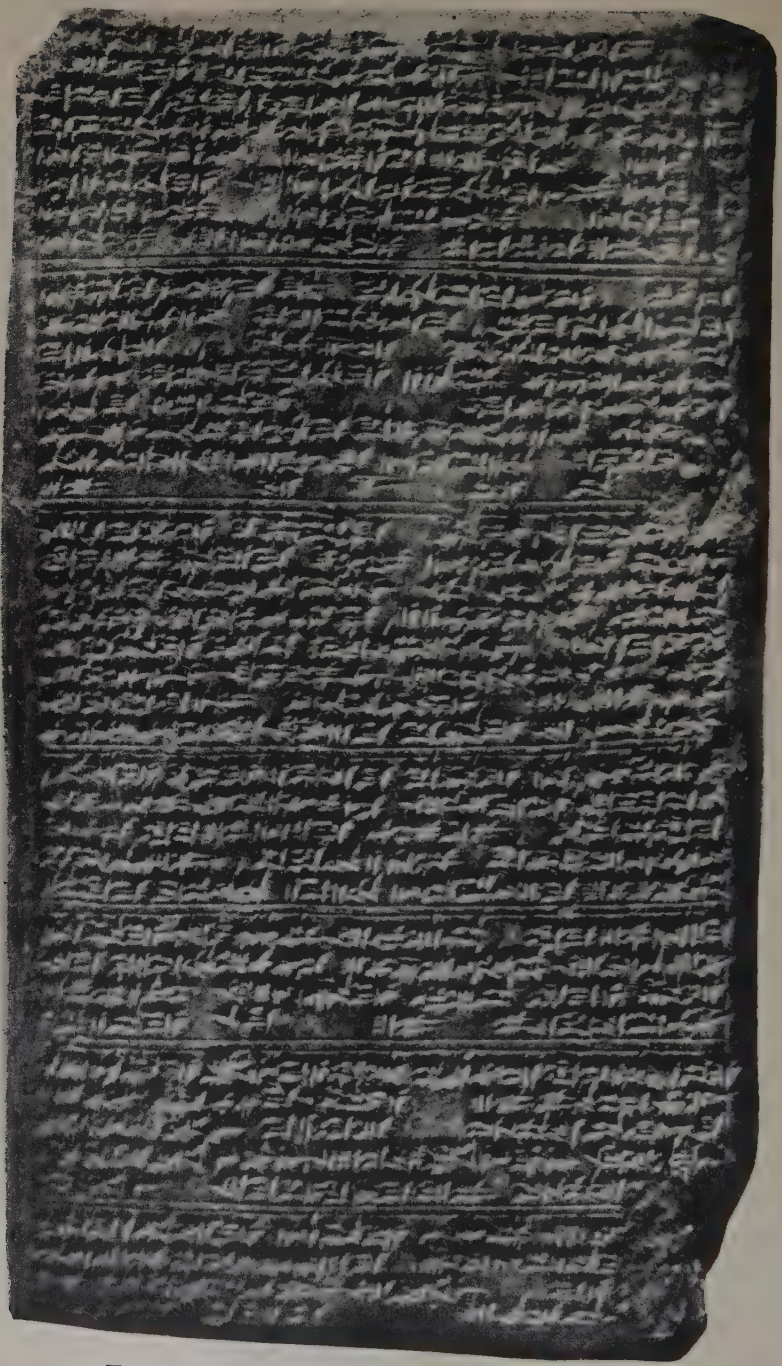
Another item of evidence which has been variously interpreted is a stelé of this Merenptah which was discovered

WALL-PAINTING FROM AN EGYPTIAN TOMB
British Museum

CENE FROM THE BOOK OF THE DEAD (ANI PAPYRUS):
ANI IN THE UNDERWORLD

British Museum





TELL EL-AMARNA TABLET: LETTER FROM TUSHRATTA, KING OF MITANNI, TO AMENOPHIS III OF EGYPT

British Museum

in the Ramesseum at Thebes in 1896. It is a pæan of triumph at the King's success over his enemies:

> Wasted is Tehenu [a tribe on the Libyan border of Egypt],
> The Hittite land is pacified,
> Plundered is the Canaan, with every evil,
> Carried off is Askalon,
> Seized upon is Gezer;
> Yenoam is made as a thing not existing,
> Israel is desolated, her seed is not,
> Palestine has become a defenceless widow for Egypt.

This has been taken to imply that by this time the Israelites were in Palestine, and consequently that the Exodus had taken place considerably earlier; but it has also been argued that it refers to some portions of the Hebrew race which had remained in Palestine when the family of Jacob went down into Egypt. The evidence is, therefore, neither clear nor decisive.

There remains one discovery of great interest which has thrown a flood of light on the history of the land of Canaan, though its precise relation to the Bible narrative is still a matter of dispute. In 1887 an Egyptian woman, digging in the rubbish heaps of a site called Tell el-Amarna, found a quantity of clay tablets (over 350 in all) with markings on them (Plate VII). She sold her find to a neighbour for two shillings, and the neighbour realized a handsome profit by passing the tablets on for ten pounds. They were then offered to the Cairo dealers, who did not know what to make of them; they could see that the writing was cuneiform, but, since cuneiform tablets in Egypt seemed very improbable, thought they might be modern forgeries. It happened that Dr (afterwards Sir) Ernest Budge was in Egypt on one of his many visits to secure objects for the British Museum. He always cultivated friendly relations with the dealers and tried to treat them and the natives fairly; consequently they trusted him. He was able to make out enough to ascertain that the tablets were letters addressed to kings of Egypt and unquestionably genuine.

He managed to purchase eighty-two of them, and would gladly have acquired the rest, but they were in the hands of dealers who were already in treaty with an agent of the Berlin Museum. How Dr Budge succeeded in carrying off his purchases under the nose of the Director of Antiquities, M. Grébaut, whose habitual methods of intimidation completely alienated the whole native population, diggers and dealers alike, is told by himself in *By Nile and Tigris* (i, 140 ff.). Ultimately they reached London in safety, and the consignment for Berlin also reached that museum.

The find was indeed remarkable and quite unprecedented. Here in Egypt, the land of papyrus and the hieroglyphic script, was a correspondence carried on in the Babylonian language, inscribed after the Babylonian manner in cuneiform script on clay tablets. When fully examined the tablets proved to be the correspondence of vassal princes and governors of places in Syria and Palestine with their overlords, the kings of Egypt Amenhotep III and IV, about 1410–1360 B.C. This explained the place of discovery, for Amenhotep IV, also known as Akhenaten, was the king who tried to overthrow the state worship of Amen, to break the power of the hierarchy, and to establish a pure monotheistic worship of Aten, the disk of the sun symbolizing the one God.

As part of his revolutionary campaign Akhenaten built a new capital at Tell el-Amarna; and this, which has been excavated by successive expeditions, English and German, up to the present time, has revealed that Akhenaten's revolution was also artistic and literary, breaking away from tradition in these departments of human thought also, and producing works of art of peculiar freshness and beauty, of which the best-known example is the beautiful bust of the princess Nefertiti, now in the Berlin Museum. Its effects may also be seen in the wonderful treasures found by Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter in 1922 in the tomb of Tutankhamen, son-in-law and successor of Akhenaten,

the only unplundered royal tomb ever discovered in Egypt until in March 1939 M. Pierre Montet discovered at Tanis, in the Delta, the tomb of one of the Shishaks of the XXIInd Dynasty.[1]

Here, then, at Tell el-Amarna, the capital which was deserted when, in the days of Tutankhamen, the religious revolution broke down and the priests of Amen regained their power, was found an archive of the diplomatic correspondence of Akhenaten and his father, Amenhotep III. Its contents gave a wholly new picture of the condition of Syria in the early part of the fourteenth century B.C. It was not a satisfactory picture from the point of view of Egypt. The young king, wholly wrapped up in his religious and intellectual reforms, took little interest in his foreign empire. The letters are full of complaints and appeals from governors who beg for support against invaders, or who, finding no support from their overlord, are transferring their allegiance elsewhere. The Hittites had become a formidable empire to the north of Syria, had won over the kingdom of Mitanni, to the north-east, and in conjunction with the Amorites, former vassals of Egypt, about the valley of the Orontes, were pressing on towards the south. Ribaddi of Byblus pleads hard for assistance against the Amorites, but does not get it, while the Amorite chief continues to send plausible dispatches to Egypt, protesting his loyalty and affirming that he is holding back the Hittites. In the south the invaders are the Habiru; and the possible identification of these with the Hebrews forces itself to the front. Of them we shall hear more. Megiddo, Askalon, and Gezer ask for help against them,

[1] The mummy was contained in a gold mummy-case, with an outer case of silver. The walls of the chamber were covered with paintings, and much jewellery lay on the floor, while on either side of the king lay a human skeleton. The tomb was at first supposed to be that of Shishak I, the king who plundered the treasures of the Temple and palace at Jerusalem in the days of Rehoboam (1 Kings xiv, 25, 26); but the latest information is that it is probably the tomb of one of the other kings of the same dynasty. Other chambers exist in the neighbourhood, and it may be that the discoverer has lit upon the cemetery of the XXIst and XXIInd Dynasties.

but the most urgent appeals come from Abdi-khiba, governor of Jerusalem, who declares plainly that the whole land is going to ruin.

Is this a picture of Palestine at the time of Joshua? That is the problem with which scholars are faced, and it cannot be said that anything like unanimity has been arrived at. If it is the Exodus will have taken place somewhere about 1420 B.C., and the inscription of Merenptah above mentioned will refer to a victory claimed over the Hebrews established in Palestine. Further confirmation is found by some in references by Rameses I and Seti I (*c.* 1321–1300) to a tribe called Asaru in Palestine, in a part corresponding to the territory assigned to the tribe of Asher in Joshua and Judges. Further, as we shall see later, the excavator of Jericho believes that he has been able to fix the destruction of that city in the neighbourhood of 1400 B.C. This may be said now to be the prevalent view of the date of the Exodus, though there are still those who adhere to the later dating, in the reign of Merenptah, and it must be recognized that it is difficult to reconcile in details the Tell el-Amarna letters and the narrative of Joshua and Judges.

The story of excavation in Egypt since it has been under more or less competent administration is full of interesting episodes, with more variety than appears in the excavations of Assyria, so far as they have been described in the previous chapter. It includes the recovery of the temples of Deir el-Bahari, principally by Naville; the discovery of the tombs of many of the greatest kings in the remote and wild Valley of the Kings—all of them plundered of their contents; the amazing find made by Brugsch Bey, acting 'on information received' as the result of drastic inquisition of natives, on behalf of the Service des Antiquités, of the mummies of these kings, which had apparently been gathered together out of their tombs, and, perhaps in the hope of greater safety, heaped together in a single pit. This was in 1881. The mummies were ruthlessly stripped and exposed in their

nakedness in the Museum at Cairo—a pitiable display of great and splendid rulers such as Seti I, Rameses II, and Rameses III. In 1898 M. Loret discovered the tomb, with the mummy but without the furniture, of Amenhotep II, with nine other royal mummies, including those of Amenhotep III and Merenptah.[1] In 1902 and following years work financed by Mr Theodore Davis revealed more royal tombs, and, more valuable still, a tomb not royal but unplundered, the tomb of Yuaa and his wife Tuau, parents of the brilliant queen Tiy, wife of Amenhotep III and mother of Akhenaten. And then the climax was reached when, in November 1922, Howard Carter, working for Lord Carnarvon, found the unplundered grave of Tutankhamen, with its amazing wealth of gold coffins and face-coverings, pectorals and jewels, thrones and beds and sculptured figures, ushabtis and their cases, a revelation of Egyptian riches and workmanship.

It is pathetic to think of the wasted labour devoted by the rulers of Egypt to secure the permanent preservation of their mummified bodies. At first the mastaba tombs, low structures over the actual tomb; later the portentous pyramids piled up above a burial chamber approached by tortuous passages; then the tomb separated from the funerary temple and concealed far back in the recesses of the hills with every precaution that human ingenuity could suggest. So, Pharaoh after Pharaoh, they were all buried, and their worldly goods in all profusion were buried with them. And yet, Pharaoh after Pharaoh, every one of them was dug up again, apparently as soon as his tomb was closed, and probably by the very same men who had buried him, and all the wealth that he had taken with him was plundered and his body cast aside. The plundering must

[1] Previously it had sometimes been argued that the reason why no mummy of Merenptah had been found was because he was drowned in the Red Sea. But (1) the book of Exodus nowhere says that Pharaoh himself was drowned; (2) if he had been his body would probably have been washed up and would duly have been mummified. This shows the danger of grasping at unsound arguments in the hope of 'proving the Bible.'

have been notorious, and in a few cases became a public scandal which led to a *cause célèbre*; yet Pharaoh after Pharaoh persevered with this futile toil and expense, and of twenty dynasties no one of them all escaped except Tutankhamen. A king of short reign, of no particular achievement, noted only as having been forced to surrender by the priests and restore the worship of Amen: and he alone escapes with a wealth of adornment which leaves one to wonder what were the funeral trappings of a Thothmes III, an Amenhotep III, or a Rameses II.

Another discovery, less spectacular, but adding more to our knowledge of history, was that of the tombs of kings preceding the Pyramid Age, at Abydos. Until the last years of the nineteenth century nothing was known of kings earlier than Cheops, the great pyramid-builder of the IVth Dynasty, except that Herodotus named as the first king of Egypt Men or Menes, who also appears as the first king of the Ist Dynasty in the list of Manetho. In 1895, however, M. Amélineau began excavations a little lower down the Nile than Thebes—at Abydos, which was regarded by the ancient Egyptians as the burying-place of Osiris. He found a tomb which he claimed to be the actual tomb of Osiris, but his methods as an excavator did not command confidence, and no real progress was made until work on this site was resumed in 1899 by Petrie. He discovered the tombs of a number of kings of the Ist Dynasty, and his discoveries, supplemented by others made at Nagāda, Hierakonpolis, and elsewhere, have given us the names of several of these kings, such as Aha, Narmer (one of whom, or both collectively, seems to represent the Menes of the king lists), Semti, and others. They remain little more than names, though there are indications of the campaigns which united the kingdoms of the North and the South, enabling the kings of Egypt, from Menes onwards, to bear the titles and insignia of the King of the North and the King of the South. But the objects found

in these graves (in spite of ancient plunderings which have removed the mummies and most of the tomb furniture) suffice to give a general idea of the state of civilization which Egypt had attained at a date which is estimated as about 3500 B.C. Among other things we find hieroglyphic writing already in existence, though in a very primitive form, which makes the reading of these kings' names doubtful. In these tombs of Abydos the first chapters of the history of dynastic Egypt are written, though we discern behind them a predynastic period of indefinite length and as yet undetermined character.

It will have been seen that the result of archæological research in Egypt, from the date of the expedition of Bonaparte and the discovery of the Rosetta Stone down to the present day, has been, in the first place, to give us a complete outline of Egyptian history, and, secondly, to enable scholars to read the language of Egypt, whether written in hieroglyphic, hieratic, demotic, or Coptic. It is true that neither process is yet complete. There are gaps in our knowledge of Egyptian history, and there are uncertainties in the interpretation of Egyptian scripts. Nevertheless, we have a considerable amount of detailed acquaintance with the age of the Pyramid kings, with the Amenemhats and Senusrets of the XIIth Dynasty (about 2200–2000 B.C.), with the Hyksos invasion and conquest, which left an indelible mark of hatred in Egyptian memory (about 1800–1575 B.C.), and increasingly with the great rulers of the XVIIIth Dynasty—Queen Hatsheput, Thothmes III, Amenhotep III, the strange and attractive episode of Akhenaten—the magnificent and vainglorious Rameses II of the XIXth Dynasty, and the decline (with a temporary revival in the XXVIth Dynasty) to the Persian and Greek conquests and the reign of the Ptolemies.[1]

[1] There are considerable differences of opinion as to Egyptian datings before the XVIIIth Dynasty. Three sets of dates, by leading authorities,

Besides the strictly historical data that have been recovered, there is an immense amount of material bearing on the life of the people and their intellectual and artistic development. From the earliest dynastic period down to the end of Egyptian independence we have a continuous series of objects of art and of domestic use, sculptures (never so impressive and lifelike as in the days of the Pyramid kings), wall-paintings with vivid scenes of daily life, jewellery (such as the treasures of Dahshur and Lahun, which somehow escaped the ancient tomb-robbers, and especially that of the tomb of Tutankhamen), alabasters, boats, models of operations of industry, all of which serve to make up a picture of Egyptian civilization as it developed throughout the ages. And alongside this we have the Egyptian literature, which we can now read—not much history, but stories, poems, collections of moral and didactic sayings, religious legends, travels, autobiographies, and very much ritual, of which the best-known example is the famous Book of the Dead (Plate VI), of which highly decorated copies adorn all the principal museums of Europe and America, as well as Cairo.

Now, there is one aspect of Biblical study for which all this information is or may be relevant. In studying the religious practices and literature of the Hebrews scholars

are given below. I have generally followed the dates in *The Cambridge Ancient History* (1923).

	C.A.H.	Breasted	Petrie
Beginning of Ist Dynasty	3500	3400	4320
IVth Dynasty (Pyramid-builders)	3100–2965		3747–3510
XIIth Dynasty	2212–2000	2000–1788	2584–2371
Hyksos kings	1800–1580		2371–1593
XVIIIth Dynasty	1580–1322		1583–1318
Thothmes III	1479–1447		
Amenhotep III	1412–1376		
Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten)	1380–1362		
XIXth Dynasty	1346–1210		
Rameses II	1300–1233	1292–1225	
Merenptah	1233–1223	1225–1215	

A later estimate, by Professor A. Scharff, of Munich, would put the Ist Dynasty about 3000 and the IVth Dynasty (Cheops) about 2700 B.C.

have naturally been on the look-out for evidences of the influence of neighbouring peoples. However original the great creative literature of Israel may be, it must be conditioned by its surroundings, just as it must make use of the material means of dissemination at its disposal—the clay tablet or the papyrus manuscript. We have seen in the last chapter the affinities between the Assyrian story of the Flood and the narrative of Genesis. We shall hear later of the laws of Hammurabi and their relation to the laws of the Pentateuch. We have also within these last years learned something of the beliefs of the Canaanites among whom the Hebrews came after the Exodus. It is only natural, therefore, to look for the influence of Egypt, the land with which the early history of Judah and Israel was so intimately associated, and by which their politics were so often affected in the days of the kingdoms. It is for this that all the history of Egyptian life and thought is or may be valuable. Unfortunately, scholars are by no means of one mind in the interpretation of the evidence. Some (notably Professor E. Naville and Dr A. S. Yahuda) find traces of Egypt everywhere throughout the Pentateuch, in small details of knowledge, in references to customs, in manner of thought, or in language, and argue therefrom that the books must have been written by some one with an intimate personal knowledge of Egypt, and, if so, why not by Moses himself? Others affirm equally positively that the details of the Pentateuch narrative in regard to Egypt show such discrepancies with what we know of Egyptian manners that they cannot rest upon personal knowledge.

On such questions the only safe and proper course for the ordinary reader is to wait until the specialists have settled their controversy. The arguments require knowledge of Hebrew and Egyptian, and a detailed acquaintance with the literary and archæological evidence which the layman does not possess; consequently he is not entitled to express an opinion. He must be content to wait. We have seen so many opinions, confidently pronounced and

for a time accepted as certain, gradually lose ground and eventually fade away in the face of increasing knowledge. It is with a view to such increase of knowledge that we must encourage the continuation of research in Egypt as in other lands. As in natural science, research must be followed for its own sake: the practical application of its results will emerge in due course. Meanwhile rash affirmations are to be avoided, especially by those who speak from second-hand knowledge. The scholar is entitled to his guesses and speculations, which are often the only means of progress, and sometimes he makes his affirmations too positively; but the general reader must wait until the outcome of the controversy is assured.

CHAPTER IV

THE HITTITES

In the books of the Pentateuch there recurs several times a recital of the tribes or peoples whom the children of Israel would find in possession of their Promised Land, and whom they would drive out before them: the Canaanite, the Amorite, the Hittite, the Perizzite, the Girgashite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite (Exod. xxxiii, 2; Deut. vii, 1, xx, 17; Josh. iii, 10, xxiv, 11). The order of the enumeration varies, and there is nothing to suggest that one of them is more important than the other, that one might be the name of a powerful empire and another that of a local tribe. Sixty years ago the Hittite was little more to the reader of the Bible than the Hivite or the Perizzite. It was known that when Abraham settled in Hebron his neighbours were a group of the children of Heth; but the group was evidently of no very great size or importance, since they regarded Abraham as a "mighty prince" among them. It was known also that one of David's foremost soldiers was Uriah the Hittite; but there was nothing to show that the tribal name meant more than those of the Ithrite or the Beerothite or the Gadite, who were others among David's mighty men. Nor was there anything distinctive in the fact that Solomon had women of the Hittites in his harem, for they appear in a common catalogue with women of the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, and Zidonians. There was nothing to single out the Hittites as being of any particular importance. It is one of the major discoveries of archæology in our own day that the Hittites once ruled over a wide stretch of country, and for a time rivalled the great empires of Assyria and Egypt.

The first clues came from a few scattered monuments, observed by travellers in the eighteenth and nineteenth

centuries, which refused to fit themselves into any recognized classification. Herodotus (ii, 106) describes a figure, still visible, carved in relief on a rock near Smyrna, which he regarded as a monument of Sesostris (Rameses II), but which is now known to be of Hittite origin. Henry Maundrell, chaplain to the Turkey Company at Aleppo, reported in 1714 a visit paid by him in 1699 to Jerabolus (now more correctly known as Djerabis), on the upper Euphrates, where he saw a great mound with remains of carved stones visible on the surface. In 1722 a French traveller saw some bas-reliefs at Hamath, in northern Syria; and Burckhardt, exactly a century later, saw in the same place a stone with a kind of hieroglyphical writing which was not like the hieroglyphs of Egypt. Meanwhile the first drawing of a Hittite relief had reached Europe, for in 1754 Alexander Drummond, formerly British Consul at Aleppo, published a reproduction of a carved stone which he had seen at Jerabolus, and which he believed to be "the tomb of some dignified Christian clergyman in his sacerdotal vestments." His sketch, as published, is quite remarkably remote from the original, which is now in the British Museum.[1] Other travellers visited Djerabis, but it was not until the last third of the nineteenth century that any step forward was made in the interpretation of these monuments.

It was Hamath that gave the first push. In 1870 two American travellers saw some inscribed stones there, but could only obtain an imperfect drawing by a native, which was published by the American Palestine Exploration Society in 1871. Then the hunt was up. The British Palestine Exploration Fund sent out Mr Tyrwhitt Drake, who succeeded in taking photographs and squeezes, which for the first time gave some idea of these unfamiliar hieroglyphs. In 1872 William Wright, a missionary at Damascus, visited Hamath, and, being accompanied by the Turkish governor, was able to make casts of the

[1] See the reproduction of both in Hogarth's *Carchemish* (1914), p. 5.

inscriptions to send to London. He persuaded the Pasha to send the stones themselves to Constantinople, thereby preserving them from the fate which has befallen so many Hittite monuments left exposed above ground. Meanwhile an important first step had been made in the way of identification. In 1876 George Smith, whose travels in search of cuneiform tablets have been recorded in Chapter II, in the course of his last fatal journey visited Aleppo, where the British Consul, W. H. Skene, called his attention to Djerabis as a promising site for excavation. Smith visited the site and carefully recorded the monuments visible; and he and Skene between them (it is not clear from whom the suggestion first came) proposed its identification with Carchemish, known from many mentions in the Assyrian annals as a capital of a people who bore the name of Hatti.

It was William Wright and Professor A. H. Sayce who first brought together these isolated facts and formed them into a picture of a Hittite empire. Sayce began the study of the Hamath inscriptions in 1876, and the conjecture that they represented the writing of the Hittites was confirmed by Smith's publications of the monuments from Djerabis and his identification of that site with Carchemish. Sayce therefore argued that if the monuments in Asia Minor, such as that at Karabel, near Smyrna, mentioned by Herodotus, and similar ones at Boghaz-keui and elsewhere, were of Hittite origin they would probably be accompanied by hieroglyphs similar to those of Hamath and Djerabis; and a visit in 1879 to Karabel verified this conjecture by the discovery of Hittite characters beside the bas-relief. The materials, therefore, now existed for the presentation of the hitherto almost unknown Hittites as a nation that at one time ruled over a large empire, stretching from the Ægean to the Euphrates. The discovery was made known to the general public by Wright in his *Empire of the Hittites* (1884) and by Sayce in various writings about the same time (*The Ancient Empires of the East* (1884), *Fresh Light from the*

Ancient Monuments (1884)). Sayce was fully justified in his statement in the latter book (p. 92):

> Five years ago there was no one who suspected that a great empire had once existed in Western Asia and contended on equal terms with both Egypt and Assyria, the founders of which were the little-noticed Hittites of the Old Testament. Still less did anyone dream that these same Hittites had once carried their arms, their art, and their religion to the shores of the Ægean, and that the early civilization of Greece and Europe was as much indebted to them as to the Phœnicians.

The last clause of this claim may be questioned, but evidently these first indications had to be followed up, for scholars were lukewarm in accepting the claims of Sayce and Wright at their face value, and in any case the picture was only an outline, the details of which needed much filling in. Smith's report on Carchemish prompted the Trustees of the British Museum to apply for a firman to undertake excavations at Djerabis, which they obtained through Layard's influence in 1878. Excavations were accordingly carried on rather fitfully between 1878 and 1881, under the general control of P. Henderson, who had succeeded Skene as Consul-General at Aleppo. Henderson, however, was not a trained excavator (nobody was in those days), and was only able to pay intermittent visits to the site. The work was, therefore, mainly conducted by a native foreman. A few sculptures were discovered and sent to England; more were left about the place, and were subsequently broken up or disappeared; some pieces were found, more or less depreciated, by the subsequent expedition of 1911. On the whole, it would appear that more harm than good was done by this insufficiently controlled and inadequately published expedition.

These excavations did not advance knowledge much, but it was quite otherwise with the next enterprise, that of the excavation of Boghaz-keui in 1906. Hitherto the known centres of Hittite power were at Carchemish, on the upper Euphrates, and farther south at Kadesh, near

Hamath, in Syria. But monuments of Hittite character had been found far to the north in what was anciently Cappadocia, at Euyuk and especially at Boghaz-keui, in the middle of the great bend of the Halys, about ninety miles due east from Angora. There extensive ruins were visible, and Sayce had made tentative advances for their excavation. But British influence was no longer so strong at Constantinople as it was in the days of Stratford Canning and Layard, and the concession was given to Germany. The excavator to whom the work was entrusted, Hugo Winckler, was no more a trained archæologist than Layard when he attacked Kuyunjik, but he had similar good fortune. Almost immediately he came upon a huge archive of clay tablets, over twenty thousand in number, written in cuneiform characters, and evidently forming the record office of the Hittite capital at a time long preceding the supremacy of Carchemish and Kadesh. Some of them were in the Babylonian language, the key to which had already been found, and were therefore immediately legible. Others, though in cuneiform script, were in the Hittite language, and therefore still awaited decipherment; and besides these there were the inscriptions, found elsewhere, in hieroglyphics, which were presumably in the Hittite language, but to the interpretation of which no clue had as yet been found.

The publication of the Boghaz-keui documents was long delayed, and their interpretation still longer; but some progress could be made with the help of the documents in Babylonian. Hitherto scholars had known of a people named Hatti in Assyrian records, of Hittites in the Old Testament, and of Khita or Kheta in Egyptian documents; but there were some that doubted whether these were identical. The proof was given by one of the Boghaz-keui tablets. An Egyptian inscription contained a treaty between Rameses II and a king of the Kheta whose name was read as Khitasir or Khetasira, and a fragment of this same treaty was found among the archives of Boghaz-keui,

where the king's name appeared as Hattusil. There was, therefore, no longer any doubt that the Kheta of the Egyptian inscriptions were identical with the Hatti in the parts of eastern Asia Minor against whom the Assyrian kings frequently fought, and that their dominion extended down into Syria, where they came into contact with the Amorites of the Tell el-Amarna letters, and later with Hazael, king of Syria, and the Israelites. The references to them in the Old Testament, though adding little to our knowledge of them, could easily be fitted into the story.

Thus the fact was established that as far back as the fourteenth century B.C. the Hittites were masters of a formidable empire, which could look even Egypt or Assyria in the face. In 1288 Rameses II had barely escaped disastrous defeat by the Hittites in the battle of Kadesh by personal exertions of which he was inordinately proud, and which he caused to be recorded on the walls of his temples and to be celebrated by his court poet; and in 1272 he accepted a treaty from Hattusil on terms of complete equality:

> The treaty which the great chief of Kheta, Khetaser [Hattusil] the valiant, the son of Meraser [Murshil], the great chief of Kheta, the valiant, the grandson of Seplel [Shubbiluliuma], the great chief of Kheta, the valiant, made upon a silver tablet for Rameses, the great ruler of Egypt, the valiant, the son of Seti I, the great ruler of Egypt, the valiant, the grandson of Rameses I, the great ruler of Egypt, the valiant; the good treaty of peace and of brotherhood, setting peace between them for ever.

Rameses, much as he magnified his victory at Kadesh, never challenged the Hittite power again. The respective queens, "the great queen of Egypt" and "the great queen of Hatti," exchanged ceremonial letters of sisterhood; and in 1259 Hattusil conducted his eldest daughter with much display to Egypt to become herself the bride of Rameses, an event celebrated on the façade of the great temple of Abu Simbel.

The Hittite empire can be dated back over a century earlier than these events. The first ruler to assume the title of 'Great King' appears to have been Shubbiluliuma I, about 1400, grandfather of Mutallu, who fought at Kadesh, and of Hattusil, who made the treaty with Rameses. He reduced Tushratta, king of Mitanni (in the great bend of the Euphrates, opposite Carchemish, and between that river and the Khabur), to submission, and pressed down upon Syria, where we hear of him in the Tell el-Amarna letters. Taking advantage of the weakness of Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten), he made himself overlord of the Amorites and other tribes, from Aleppo past Hamath and Kadesh to Damascus. It was probably only from this time that Carchemish and Kadesh were incorporated in the Hittite empire; and that Rameses' battle was rather an escape from defeat than a victory appears from the fact that he was not able to reoccupy Kadesh. The extent of the Hittite empire, or rather suzerainty, is indicated by the catalogue of the nations who sent contingents to fight at Kadesh. They included not only Syrian peoples, from Carchemish down through Ugarit (a place of which we shall hear much in Chapter VII) to Kadesh, but also tribes of Asia Minor whose names seem to suggest the Lycians, Mysians, Cilicians, and Dardani known to us from Greek history; and it will be remembered that the monuments seen by Herodotus prove that Hittite forces had reached the Ægean.

It was no doubt a loosely knit confederacy of peoples, who accepted the supremacy of an overlord just as long as he could enforce it. Even before the close of Hattusil's reign Shalmaneser I (1276) claims to have conquered Mitanni and slaughtered the army of the Hittite and the Aramæans, his allies, like sheep; and about 1200 the Boghaz-keui archives come to an end, which seems to indicate that the seat of government was removed elsewhere, possibly to Carchemish. Certainly the Hittite power was declining. Its fall seems to be connected with

the invasion of the mysterious 'Peoples of the Sea' [1] who attacked Egypt in the days of Rameses III (about 1194), and who seem to have included Philistines and Cretans and peoples of western Asia Minor, as well probably as tribes from the north. They swept over the Hittite territories, and if Hittites took part in the attack which met with defeat by sea and land at the hands of Rameses III in northern Syria it was not as leaders but as compelled subordinates. It may have been this irruption, the nature of which is still very obscure, that finally broke the Hittite power in Cappadocia. Certain it is that what we know of the Hittites henceforth, whether from their own records or from those of Assyria or Egypt, relates to the southern area, in which the principal town appears to have been Carchemish; and most of our knowledge has been derived from the excavations at Djerabis and one or two other sites in the same neighbourhood, which were taken in hand towards the end of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth.

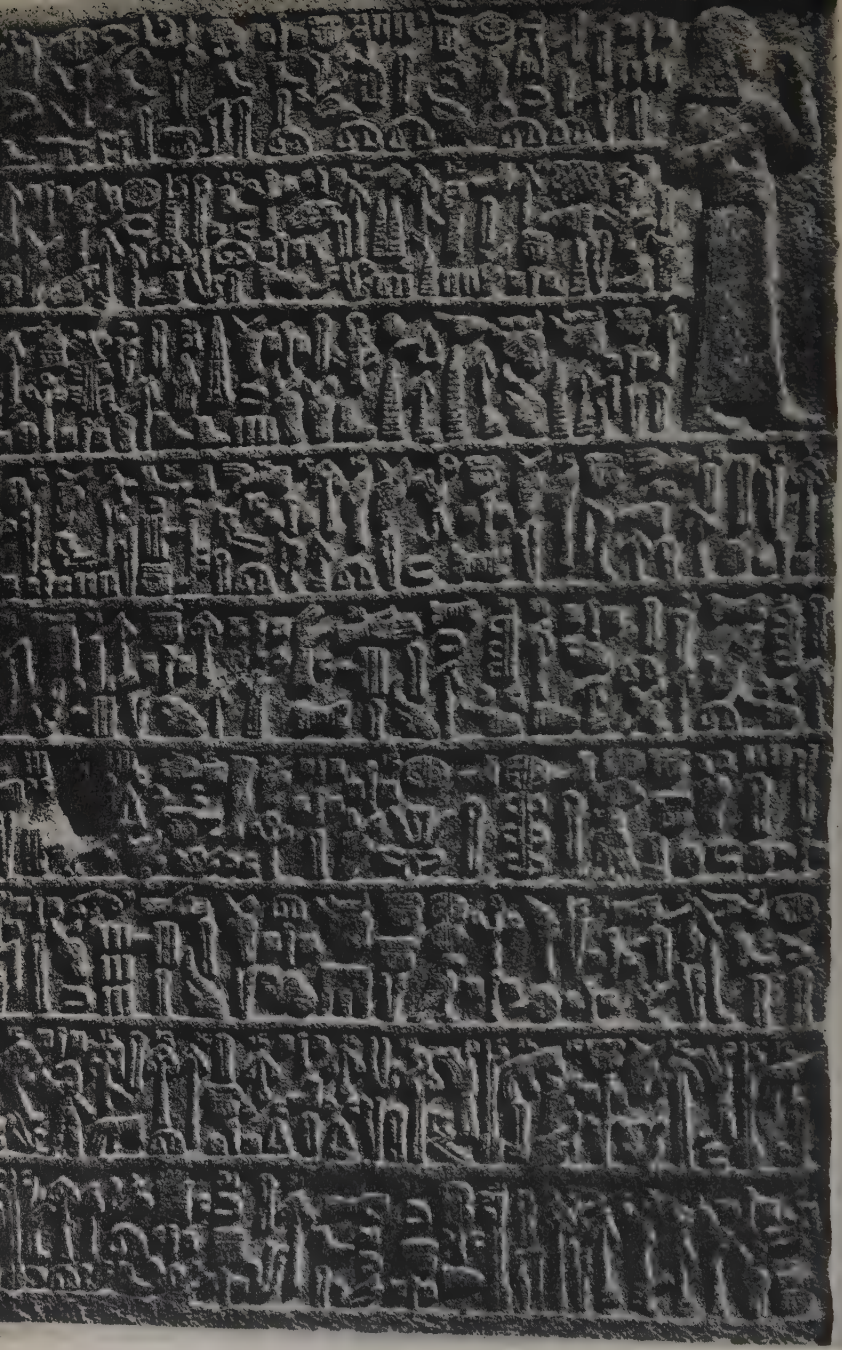
The earliest of these were those of the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft at Zenjirli, near the angle of the coasts of Asia Minor and Syria. They were carried on from 1888 to 1891, and led to the discovery of a considerable number of sculptures and inscriptions, which were published between 1893 and 1911, though without the minor antiquities which might help to date them and to establish affinities between this civilization and others. In 1908 and 1911 Professor J. Garstang was digging at Sakjegeuzi, in the same neighbourhood; but a more important site was attacked when the Trustees of the British Museum decided to resume operations at Djerabis (Carchemish). This was on the advice and under the direction of D. G. Hogarth, who began operations there in 1911; and the work was carried on by R. Campbell Thompson and subsequently by C. L. (now Sir Leonard) Woolley, with the assistance throughout of T. E. Lawrence, who spent much time in the country

[1] See p. 102.

PLATE VIII

HITTITE BAS-RELIEF FROM CARCHEMISH: THE ROYAL FAMILY

From "Carchemish" (published by the Trustees of the British Museum), Part I



HITTITE HIEROGLYPHS FROM CARCHEMISH

From "Carchemish" (published by the Trustees of the British Museum), Part I

between the seasons of digging.[1] After the Great War, when the site fell within the area of French occupation, it was possible to resume work for one season; but when it reverted to Turkey excavation became impossible, and the sculptures and other objects, which had been left on the site in accordance with the Turkish Law of Antiquities, were either removed by Turkish officers or destroyed by Turkish soldiers. Fortunately, moulds had been taken of the principal sculptures, and from these the British Museum was able to make a satisfactory series of casts, and so preserve a record of the results of the excavations.

The site of Carchemish consists of (1) a high citadel mound, (2) an inner town or royal quarter, and (3) an outer town. Up the slope from the inner town to the citadel ran a great processional staircase, lined with sculptured slabs, which may be dated to about the ninth century B.C. These represent a procession of the royal family, with a train of soldiers, and give ample evidence of Late Hittite features and arms (Plate VIII). Along with them are extensive inscriptions in Hittite hieroglyphs (Plate IX). And here one important distinction is to be observed between the North and South Hittite civilization, in that the hieroglyphic script belongs almost wholly to the latter. In the northern area hieroglyphs are confined to a few short texts, and are very primitive in character. This implies that the hieroglyphic script is of later date than the cuneiform, but the significance of this and the origin of the hieroglyphic characters are problems that still await solution.

It does not appear that Carchemish was ever an important political capital, as Boghaz-keui had been. It was never the dominant overlord of an empire, but merely

[1] The continuance of the excavations at Carchemish after the first year was made possible by a generous benefaction from Mr W. Morrison (anonymous during his lifetime). The results have been published in *Carchemish*, Part I ("Introductory") (with many plates of sculptures), by D. G. Hogarth (1914); Part II ("The Town Defences"), by C. L. Woolley (1921). A full discussion of the results obtained from Zenjirli and Carchemish is given in Hogarth's *Kings of the Hittites* (British Academy Schweich Lectures, 1924). Much, unfortunately, remains unpublished.

one of a number of states which from time to time joined in transitory federations to resist another power. Its importance was rather commercial. Standing on the west bank of the Euphrates, it commanded one of the main lines of communication between Mesopotamia and Asia Minor—a line still of importance, since it is there that the Baghdad railway runs, on which German engineers were at work at the time when Woolley and Lawrence were excavating the ancient city. Our chief knowledge of its history comes from the Assyrian records. Ashur-nasir-pal took Carchemish in 877, and exacted tribute from it and its neighbours. Shalmaneser III repeated the invasion, took tribute from Carchemish and a number of other states, and in 843 fought a pitched battle at Karkar, near Hamath, against a confederacy of twelve nations headed by the kings of Hamath and Damascus (the Benhadad of 1 Kings). One of the confederates named by Shalmaneser on the monument erected to commemorate his victory is Ahab of Israel, whose contingent is given as 2000 chariots and 10,000 infantry, the largest contingent of chariots among all the allies, and in infantry as large as any except that of Damascus. Four years later the Assyrian king was again at war with the Hamath-Damascus alliance, and Carchemish was taken; but the Hittite confederacy, if it may be so called, was not broken by defeat, but by its own inherent instability. Its members quarrelled among themselves. Benhadad and Ahab conducted continuous war against each other with varying fortune (1 Kings xx–xxii); and when the Syrian king besieged Jehoram in Samaria to the verge of starvation, but raised the siege in a sudden panic, it is recorded that

> the Lord had made the host of the Syrians to hear a noise of chariots, and a noise of horses, even the noise of a great host; and they said one to another, Lo, the king of Israel hath hired against us the kings of the Hittites, and the kings of the Musri [probably not the Egyptians, as in our Bible, but a tribe in the Taurus region], to come upon us.[1]

[1] 2 Kings vii, 6.

This illustrates the state of a region occupied by a number of separate independent peoples, which might join with or against one another in any variety of combinations. Hazael of Damascus, who had murdered Benhadad and seized his throne, was badly defeated by Shalmaneser in 841; and it was then that Jehu made the submission which is recorded on the Black Obelisk (see p. 39). For nearly forty years thereafter the Hittite-Syrian states seem to have given little trouble to Assyria, but in 802 Adad-nirari was provoked by the king of Damascus, which led to a campaign in which he occupied Damascus itself, and received the submission of "Omri-land" (*i.e.*, Israel). For the next half-century the power of Assyria waned under a succession of weak sovereigns, but Tiglath-Pileser (745–727) reasserted his authority on all sides, and in 740 the ruler of Carchemish was one of those who paid tribute. A little later he had to assert himself farther south, when, according to the Israelite record (2 Kings xv, 19), "Pul the king of Assyria came against the land: and Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand." The Assyrian record includes both Rezin of Damascus and Menahem of Samaria among those who paid tribute. The policy of the Assyrian kings now began to take the form of large deportations of populations and the settlement of Assyrian garrisons, so as to put an end to constant rebellions and attacks. Tiglath-Pileser applied this method after his defeat of Rezin in 733 (2 Kings xv, 29, confirmed by the Assyrian records), and at the beginning of the reign of Sargon II (722–705) Israel suffered the same fate. For Carchemish the end came in 717, when its last king, Pisiris, joined the neighbouring Muski in revolt. This time Sargon resolved to end the trouble for good and all, and accordingly reduced Carchemish to the level of a province under an Assyrian governor. In this way came the end of anything that can be called a Hittite empire.

It will be seen that the story of the Hittites, so far as it is

yet revealed to us, falls into two distinct sections: first, the period from about 1400 to 1200, when the seat of power was in Cappadocia, when the Hittite domination ranged more or less from the Euphrates to the Ægean, and when the Hittite king was a formidable rival to the rulers of Assyria and Egypt; and, secondly, the period when the centre of interest shifts southward, and Carchemish is for a time the most prominent among a number of small states which from time to time formed combinations with or against one another, and occasionally united against the common danger from Assyria, which ultimately swallowed them all. The history is gradually, but only gradually, being elucidated as progress is being made in the reading of the Hittite records. Several ineffective attempts were made at their decipherment, and for a considerable time scholars differed sharply as to whether the language was Indo-European or not. The Boghaz-keui texts, being in cuneiform characters, could be approximately transliterated, and it remained then to try to discern the principles of formation of the words and to interpret them by such means as bilingual texts and word-lists where such were available. The credit for substantial progress in decipherment, the success of which proved the general soundness of its principles, is due to F. Hrozny, followed by E. Forrer and others. Their results are not yet universally accepted, but progress is being slowly made.

The general conclusions which these scholars believe themselves to have reached seem to be as follows. The indigenous population of northern Asia Minor spoke a non-Indo-European language, akin to that of the people of the north-eastern Caucasus. Early in the second millennium B.C. an Indo-European people conquered this indigenous population and founded the empire which we know as that of the Hatti (Egyptian Kheta), with its capital at Boghaz-keui. Their archives are written in six different dialects, the most important of which is called Kanesian, from the city of Kanes (now Kara-Euyuk) in mid-

Cappadocia. The language is Indo-European in character, showing affinities with Old Latin. To this empire the name 'Hattic' is given, as denoting the Hittite people proper, in distinction from the looser and more general use of the term 'Hittite,' which followed later. This Hattic empire reached the height of its power about 1400, and for the next two hundred years was the dominant force in eastern Asia Minor, in contact with Assyria on the east, reaching down into Syria to meet Egypt in the south, and carrying its arms westwards to meet, as it would seem, the vanguard of the Greek peoples on the Ægean coast. There is no evidence of a continued occupation of western Asia Minor, but the monuments in Hittite style near Smyrna are good proof of Hattic influence, if only as the result of an occasional raid, in that region; and Forrer believes himself to have found in the Boghaz-keui archives references to princes and peoples with names which readily suggest Greek equivalents (Ahhijava = Achaia, Lazpas = Lesbos, Antaravas = Andreus, Tavagalavas = Eteocles, Attarissijas = Atreus). These results are not universally accepted, but the analogies are sufficiently near to suggest the possibility of relations between the Hattic people and the Greeks in the centuries immediately preceding the Trojan War. This inquiry, however, lies outside our present subject, though it illustrates the diverse interests which may be affected by archæological research.

The Hattic empire seems to have been wrecked by the irruption of the 'Peoples of the Sea' in 1194–1191, and northern Cappadocia ceased to be of importance as the centre of Hittite culture. It broke up into a number of small tribes, of which those to the north of the Taurus were known to the Assyrians as "the twenty-four kingdoms of the Tabalians," while those in northern Syria retained the name of Hatti or Hittites. The Tabalian group make no great figure in history; but the southern Hittites, with their principal centre at Carchemish, continue to play a part, as indicated above, in the politics of Assyria, until

their final suppression by Sargon in 717. Their art also, as it appears in the sculptures of Carchemish, shows greater Assyrian influence in these latter days, for though Hittite art has a character of its own, less distinguished than the best of Assyria and Egypt and indicative rather of a rough mountaineering people with no high level of artistic culture, the grouping and subjects of the Carchemish sculptures approximate to those of Assyria.

The result, therefore, of archæological research, combining the monuments and documents of Boghaz-keui, Carchemish, and Zenjirli with those of Egypt and Assyria, has been to put on the map a great power, with a distinct culture of its own, which was quite unsuspected sixty years ago. A certain vagueness must always rest upon the term 'Hittite,' it is true; for it is evident that Hittite influence extended over peoples who were not Hattic in the same sense as the rulers of Boghaz-keui, and in the southern portion of the area there may have been a good deal of Semitic infiltration. But the name retained a meaning for their neighbours in Assyria and Palestine, and their art shows a continuity of tradition. So we may use the term 'Hittite' as possessing a real political and cultural significance, though not a precise ethnographical definition.

We are now in a position to estimate the bearing of our newly acquired knowledge on the references to Hittites in the Old Testament. The later passages become clear enough. The kings of the Hittites to whom Solomon sold horses (2 Chron. i, 17), and from whom the panic-stricken Syrians expected an attack at Samaria (2 Kings vii, 6), were the kings of the second or southern Hittite federation, whose power stretched from Carchemish to Hamath. The ladies of Solomon's harem (1 Kings xi, 1) came from the same area, for they are enumerated along with Zidonians and other peoples on the borders of Palestine. There is more ambiguity about the Hittites who appear in the catalogues of heathen peoples in the Pentateuch and

Joshua, which became so fixed in Hebrew tradition as to recur in Ezra (ix, 1) and Nehemiah (ix, 8). On the one hand there is the evidence of the Tell el-Amarna letters (see p. 73) that the Hittites, in conjunction with the Amorites, whom they dominated, were pressing in upon Syria at about the time when the Hebrews under Joshua were entering Palestine from the south. These would be the forces of the great Hattic empire of Cappadocia, then in the plenitude of its power. But there are also the Hittites whom the Hebrews found in actual occupation of Palestine, who are included in the lists of heathen to be expelled, and who in Numbers xiii, 29, are specifically assigned to the hill country of Judæa. There is no sign that Palestine was ever regarded as a province of the Hattic empire, of which Kadesh seems to have been the southern limit. Rather it would seem as if the Hittite settlements in Palestine must be associated with the family of the children of Heth whom Abraham found at Hebron. At that date the Hattic kingdom had not spread beyond northern Cappadocia. We must look further back, to a time before the occupation of that province. The situation would be clearer if we knew where the 'Kanesian' people who founded the empire subsequently known as Hattic or Hittite came from. The indications, however, point eastwards. Babylonian tradition assigned the fall of the first dynasty of Babylon (about 2000 B.C.) to an irruption of Hatti; and the Indo-European character of the Hattic language points to an origin farther east, perhaps in Iran. It seems possible, therefore, to envisage a migration from the east westwards, flowing over Babylonia, throwing out offshoots to Palestine in the south, Syria and Mitanni (the people of which are held to have been Indo-European) in the centre, and pressing on mainly to the north-west, where it settled down as the Hattic empire of Cappadocia.[1]

[1] Forrer, in the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (April 1937), has a different explanation, according to which the Hittites found in Palestine by Joshua would be refugees expelled by the Hatti from northern Asia Minor about 1350, who, though not Hittite, were called so by the Palestinians; but this,

In this way one can account for the references to Hittites in the Old Testament. It would be uncritical to ignore a tradition which was evidently firmly rooted in Hebrew records, especially now that we have every reason to believe that these records, in their present form, rest upon contemporary documents. The tradition appears incidentally in Ezekiel's allocution to Jerusalem: "Thy father was an Amorite and thy mother a Hittite" (xvi, 3, 45, A.V.). All the evidence goes to show that there may indeed have been settlements of Hittites and of Amorites and of other peoples in Palestine, in and before the time of Abraham, and lasting until after the conquest by Joshua.

Such, then, is the relation of the Hittites to the Hebrews, as revealed by the excavations and studies of the last sixty years. It was a purely material relation, affecting the politics of Israel and the fortunes of its kings. It had no influence on Hebrew thought or religion. The Hittites seem to have been an unintellectual people. They left no literature, and there are no signs of originality about their religion. The discovery of their existence is a remarkable achievement of archæology, and has therefore seemed worth recounting at some length. It helps to make up the picture of the material surroundings amid which the kingdoms of Judah and Israel came into being and played their part on the stage of history; but it contributes nothing to that spiritual history which is the glory of Israel and the sole cause of its importance to the world.

besides being highly hypothetical, does not account for Hittites about Hebron in the time of Abraham. Explanations which depend on the assumption that a later writer attributed to the past the conditions of his own time, though not always impossible, are rarely satisfactory and can at best be only guesses.

CHAPTER V

CRETE AND PHILISTIA

THE kingdom of the Hittites is not the only civilization which has been wholly revealed to us by modern excavations. Another, which has come to light within the last forty years, is that of the island of Crete. It has only a slight connexion with Old Testament history, but enough to justify a brief description of one of the most remarkable discoveries of modern times.

Until 1900 Crete was for modern scholars a dim name in the mythical prehistory of Greece. The chief name connected with it was that of Minos, to whom Homer and Herodotus refer as having been its ruler three generations before the Trojan War—*i.e.*, somewhere towards 1300 B.C. Herodotus, Thucydides, and Aristotle add that his power rested on his command of the sea, and this vague tradition of a distant thalassocracy was the nearest approach made towards giving Crete a place in history. Minos as king and lawgiver might have some historical foundation; but Minos as judge among the dead and the stories of Europa, Dædalus, Pasiphaë, and the Minotaur gave Crete a far more assured place among the mythical. So it was from the time of Herodotus to our own day, with the sole addition, made by St Paul in a quotation, that "the Cretans are always liars." Yet within our own generation Crete has emerged as a nation with a thousand years of history, a notable place of its own in the evolution of European culture, and brilliant achievements in the spheres of architecture, painting, and decoration.

The revealing of the Cretan civilization is a rare instance of a discovery being made by the person who most deserved to make it. Mr (now Sir) Arthur Evans had travelled in Crete from 1893 onwards, and had come across some

engraved seals, with figures and characters of a strange type. He could not follow up the clue at once, for Crete was in a state of chronic rebellion against Turkish rule, and Evans could less than anyone else hope for permission to dig there, since his well-known sympathies with the Christian populations under Turkish government made him a *persona ingratissima* with the Turkish authorities. But so soon as Crete had secured its independence as a result of the rising in 1897 he lost no time in undertaking excavations on the site of Cnossos, which was known to have been one of the principal cities of ancient Crete. Operations were begun in 1900, and immediately met with astounding success. Vases, wall-paintings, and architectural details were found in great profusion, in styles totally unknown hitherto, and revealing a civilization of great antiquity and of a very high order of achievement. Evans's insight and initiative were rewarded by one of the great discoveries in the history of archæology.

It is not necessary, nor possible within the space available, to describe the course of the excavation of Cnossos in detail. The work continued year after year under Evans's direction and very largely at his own expense; indeed, it is still going on intermittently. The site was acquired and vested in the British School of Archæology at Athens; a curator was installed on the spot, and extensive works of reconstruction were undertaken, so as to secure that as much as possible should be retained *in situ*, and some idea should be given of the plan and lay-out of the city. Every detail of evidence was recorded, and the history of the site worked out with meticulous care and with a brilliant application of archæological imagination. The work was a model not only of excavation, but of publication. Full annual reports kept scholars aware of the progress as it was made, and the whole was eventually summed up in the five sumptuous volumes of *The Palace of Minos* (1921–36). For those who desire a less extensive (and expensive) account the curator, Mr J. D. S. Pendlebury,

has produced a *Handbook to the Palace of Minos at Knossos* (1933) and *The Archæology of Crete* (1939).

Meanwhile work, inspired by Evans's success, had been going on in other parts of the island, notably by an Italian expedition at Phæstos, which proved to be a site only slightly less important than Cnossos, but also at Palaikastro, Hagia Triada, Gournia, and other sites. From the evidence thus obtained the sequence of development was established, and a relative time-scheme worked out in which the whole period was divided into three main stages, labelled Early, Middle, and Late Minoan, each of which was further subdivided into three sections (Early Minoan I, E.M. II, E.M. III, and so on). Absolute dates for certain fixed points in this time-scheme were obtained through the discovery of datable objects imported from Egypt. Crete, as an island power dependent on the sea, carried on active trade with Egypt, the Ægean, and (as we have lately begun to learn) with the Syrian coast. Egyptian scarabs, vases, and other objects have been found on Cretan sites, and Cretan objects in Egypt or depicted on Egyptian monuments. By means of such evidence synchronizations can be established, and Cretan history fitted into its place in the chronology of the East. Thus the beginnings of Cretan civilization in the period known as Early Minoan I can be equated approximately with the Ist Dynasty of Egypt, the beginning of the Middle Minoan period with the XIIth Dynasty (about 2200 B.C.), and the beginning of Late Minoan with the XVIIIth Dynasty (about 1600 B.C.); and about 1200 B.C. the Cretan civilization fades away.

With all this chronological outline of artistic evolution, we know singularly little of the political history of Crete. There is small reference to it in the records of Assyria and Egypt, and although written tablets of clay have been found in Crete they have not been deciphered and do not appear to be historical, though some may be dispatches or documents from which historical information may

eventually be derived. The tablets, which were found at Cnossos, are flat, narrow ovals of clay, unlike in shape to those of Babylonia, and with a script or scripts of their own. The earliest form of writing is pictographic, which is found on seal impressions of Middle Minoan I, and from this a linear system was developed in the course of the Middle Minoan period, which is found on tablets, some at least of which are evidently inventories of stores (chariots, etc.).[1] But the characters have not yet been deciphered, and no help is as yet derivable from them for history.

All that can be discerned from the evidence as yet available is an outline of the cultural history of the island. It is clear that Cnossos and Phæstos rose to great splendour in the Middle Minoan period, with relations throughout the Ægean and Eastern Mediterranean, and that then some great catastrophe befel them, by which these cities and others were destroyed. There is no sign either of foreign invasion or of internal war; indeed, Crete seems to have been a very peaceful place, since its cities are unfortified. It must have depended for protection from outside invasion on its fleet, and this fleet must have been available for the whole island. Internal war seems to be ruled out, for then one or other of the two leading cities would surely have escaped. Possibly a great earthquake shock (to which the island is liable) wrecked the cities, and so led to the extensive rebuilding of the palaces which marks the beginning of the Late Minoan period. Certainly there was no falling off in the vigour of the people, for in the earlier part of this period the island reached a height of magnificence almost equal to that before the catastrophe.

[1] Since this chapter was written news has been received from the American scholar Dr Blegen, working on behalf of the University of Cincinnati in conjunction with the Greek Department of Antiquities, of the discovery near Navarino, on the traditional site of the palace of the Homeric Nestor, of a building of Late Minoan type, in a small room of which were found some three hundred clay tablets with inscriptions in Cretan linear script. Like those at Cnossos, these appear to be business documents. The further excavation of this building will be awaited with lively anticipation.

The palaces have throne rooms, shrines, and open courts for display. The houses were elaborately built, though on no homogeneous plan; they have staircases, baths, drainage systems, and other 'modern' appliances. They were profusely decorated with wall-paintings, in which the conventions for expressing the human form are strange, but much of the animal figures and the floral patterns are both realistic and effective. The art is quite unlike that of Egypt or Assyria; rather we find here the beginnings of the art which, with various vicissitudes, descended through Greece to our own Western peoples. Conspicuous among the subjects of these paintings are wonderful representations of bull-fights, with acrobatic performances by the matadors (Plate X), while the ladies' dresses recall Parisian fashions of the nineteenth century.[1]

The source of all this wealth and splendour is unknown; nor is it known how it was brought to an end. But it is clear that about the end of the fifteenth century B.C. ruin fell upon it. Cnossos and all the other cities of Crete seem to have been sacked and burned; but who the conquerors were is at present quite unknown. This was not quite the end; parts of the cities were rebuilt and reoccupied; their art continued, but on the decline. But about the twelfth century the life of the island seems to have faded away. It ceased to have political power; its palaces and towns were buried under their own *débris*; its artistic tradition passed to the mainland of Greece, with its centre at Mycenæ; its script was forgotten, and superseded by the Phœnician alphabet; and Greece retained no memory of the brilliant civilization which had for centuries been so splendid, and from which its own art derived some of its origins.

The interest of Biblical students in Crete arises from a small number of passages in which mention is made of

[1] The best survey of the Cretan discoveries, showing the development of Minoan art through all its stages, is to be obtained by a visit to the new Cretan room in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

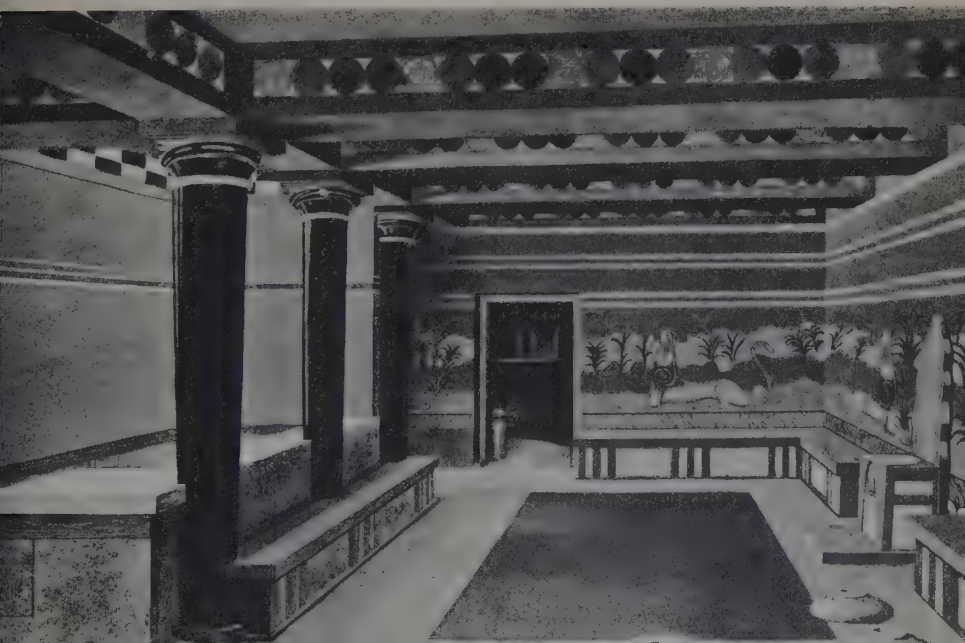
the Cherethites. In 1 Samuel xxx, 14, Ezekiel xxv, 16, and Zephaniah ii, 5, they are named in connexion with the Philistines as resident in the coastlands in the south-west of Palestine. In 2 Samuel viii, 18, xv, 18, xx, 7, 23, 1 Kings i, 38, 44, and 1 Chronicles xviii, 17, they are spoken of with the Pelethites as forming the personal bodyguard of David, under the command of Benaiah. In the passages in Ezekiel and Zephaniah the Septuagint translates the word by Κρῆτες (Cretans), and it is the general opinion that this is the true meaning of Cherethites, and that the Pelethites coupled with them are Philistines, whom we know to have been their geographical neighbours. What, then, was the connexion between the Cretans and the Philistines? To answer this question it is necessary to know who the Philistines were. So long as nothing was known about them beyond what appears in the Old Testament, all that could be said was that they were a people occupying the fertile coastlands of Southern Palestine, who were constantly at war with the Hebrews in the days of the judges and the early kings, until they were finally subdued by David. Archæology has, however, here as elsewhere, let in new light.

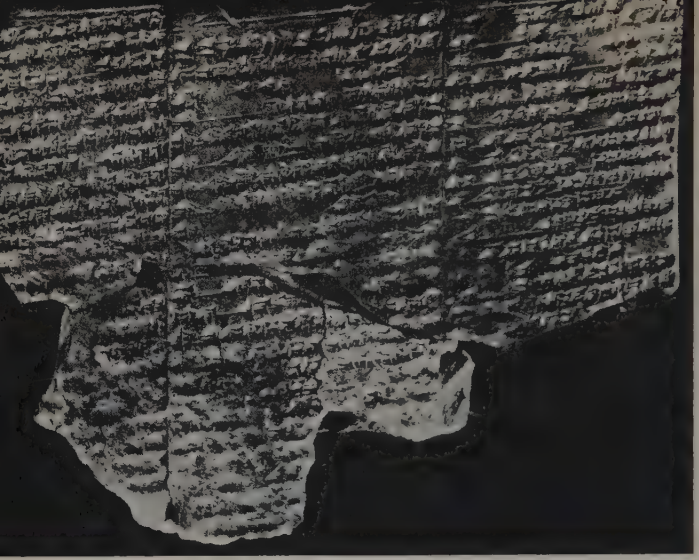
The first information comes from Egypt. About 1194 B.C., and again in 1191, in the reign of Rameses III, Egypt was threatened with a serious attack by invaders described as the 'Peoples of the Sea.' Among these peoples were the Pulesati, who must surely be the Philistines, and others who can apparently be identified with Carians, Lycians, Achæans, and others with Greek affinities. The invasion was a great movement of the peoples. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, it involved the Cappadocian empire of the Hittites, which it wrecked beyond recovery. It swept down through Syria, but was met by Rameses in the land of Amor (the area Damascus-Beirut) and totally defeated both by land and sea. The invasion was broken, but it may be that some of the invaders remained in Syria, and ultimately

WALL-PAINTING FROM THE PALACE OF CNOSSOS

Both of the illustrations on this page are taken from "The Palace of Minos" (Macmillan), by kind permission of Sir Arthur Evans

THE THRONE ROOM OF THE PALACE OF CNOSSOS (RESTORED)





DELUGE TABLET FROM NIPPUR
By kind permission of the University Museum, Philadelphia

THE ISHTAR GATE OF BABYLON
From a restoration in the Berlin Museum

settled down in the district subsequently known as Philistia.

As to their origin the Egyptian monuments again give valuable evidence. It is clear that they were not identical with the Cretans. The name for Cretans on the Egyptian monuments is Keftiu (perhaps the same as Caphtor in the Bible), and the Keftiu can now be identified from the Cretan and Egyptian wall-paintings and vases as unquestionably Minoans. But the dress and arms of the Peoples of the Sea are quite different. They are to be identified rather with the Lycians and Carians of south-west Asia Minor. The probable explanation, therefore, is that the Philistines originated in this quarter; that along with their neighbours they invaded Minoan Crete, then (as we have seen) in its decline, and perhaps settled for a time in the eastern part of the island; and that thence, with a Cretan contingent, they took part in the great movement which ended in the defeat by Rameses III. Or else there may have been a peaceful migration of Cretans and Philistines to Palestine.[1] The genuine Cretans were apparently only a small proportion of the whole, since for most purposes the name Philistine is used alone for the inhabitants of the coast who were the enemies of the Hebrews; but they must have preserved their individuality as a tribe, and David's bodyguard was formed of mercenaries from both Cretans and Philistines. That he should have had a foreign bodyguard need cause no wonder. Just because they were mercenaries they could be retained as a standing army, which was not possible with the natives of the land; and, being not subject to political and family motives, they remained true to their salt when the bulk of the population fell away after Absalom.

We see, therefore, what these Cretans were, and also who were the Philistines with whom they were associated.

[1] A belief that the Philistines came to Palestine from Crete would seem to be indicated in Amos ix, 7: "Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor?"

They came into Palestine only at the time when the power of Crete had ceased to be of importance; but in earlier days, though the Minoans do not seem to have tried to exercise any political influence on the mainland, it is now clear that their commercial influence penetrated not only into Egypt but into Syria. The proof of this is of recent date. Excavations in north-west Syria, which will be more fully described in a later chapter, have brought to light many objects of undoubted Minoan character. It is only natural that a maritime people like the Cretans in their great period should have traded, not only with Egypt, but also with Syria, and through Syria with the countries lying farther east. But by the time that the Hebrews entered Palestine Cretan influence was on the wane, and there is no reason to assign it any share in the cultural development of the children of Israel.

Of the Philistines, who gave their name to Palestine, archæological research has hitherto told us singularly little. They are not mentioned in the Tell el-Amarna letters, a fact which conforms well with the suggestion that they settled in Palestine about the time of the invasion of the Peoples of the Sea. Their principal cities were Ashdod, Gaza, Ashkelon, Gath, and Ekron. Gezer also came within their territory. Excavations have been conducted at Gezer, as will be mentioned in Chapter VIII, but, so far as can be gathered from the published reports, they revealed little that can be regarded as distinctively Philistine. The Gaza recently excavated by Sir Flinders Petrie, at Tell Ajjul, is the older town, which seems to have come to an end with the Hyksos period. The site of Gath has not been identified. Garstang conducted excavations on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1920 at Askalon, where the action of the sea had laid bare the stratification of a portion of the mound. This disclosed a Canaanite level, followed by an Egyptian occupation of the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and then a short period marked by Ægean influence, which may be labelled as Philistine. So

far as the evidence as yet goes, it would appear that the Philistines were not culturally creative, and that their main contribution to the cultural development of Syria and Palestine was that they were the medium through which Cretan influence reached those lands. This is in accordance with the present conclusions of archæology, and with the historical association of Cherethites and Pelethites in the records of the Old Testament.

CHAPTER VI

MESOPOTAMIA: (II) SUMER AND BABYLONIA

In Chapter II an account was given of the researches carried on in Mesopotamia down to about the year 1880. It related almost entirely to work done in the northern part of the valley of the two rivers, in the neighbourhood of Nineveh on the Tigris, and the civilization revealed was that of the kingdom of Assyria. Tentative explorations were made during this period in the southern part of the valley, known as Babylonia, and Layard himself made some excavations at the mound of Birs-i-Nimrûd, near Babylon, which he thought represented the original Tower of Babel; but the results were disappointing, and he returned to the northern sites, where he had been so successful. The reason for the difference in results is simple. In Assyria stone is obtainable, and it was possible to produce the great carved bulls and lions and the slabs of sculptured bas-reliefs which were the glories of Kuyunjik, Nimrûd, and Khorsabad; but Babylonia is almost stoneless. Architecture there was almost wholly in brick, and great sculptures were impossible. There was, in fact, plenty to discover in Babylonia, as will appear in this chapter; but it was less spectacular, and it is fortunate that the discovery was reserved for a later generation, when archæological technique had improved, when explorers no longer looked only for large and showy objects, and when more careful records were kept of the circumstances in which finds were made. It was, however, a reversal of historical order, for Babylonia was important in history long before Assyria; whereas the great time of Assyria was, in round figures, between 1000 and 600 B.C., and the age of its greatest splendour was in the ninth to the seventh centuries, the

cities to be discovered in Babylonia went back from the second to the fifth millennium, from the days of Abraham to those of Noah.

A brief indication of the history of the period may make the description of the course of discovery more intelligible. The earliest civilization in Lower Mesopotamia (dating, apparently, from the time when the land first became habitable through the extension southwards of the delta of the two great rivers) was that of a non-Semitic people known as Sumerians, who seem to have come from the north-east. The area occupied by them was roughly south of a line from Babylon to Kish, and extending eastwards to Susa, where Sumer bordered upon the highlands of Elam. North of Sumer, also from an indeterminable antiquity, was the Semitic people of Akkad; but Sumer seems to have taken the lead in civilization, and, indeed, to have been one of the great cultural fountain-heads of remote antiquity. It had developed a pictographic writing (the ancestor of cuneiform) from a date which some have put back as far as 4000 B.C., and which none put later than 3200. From this approximate date we have actual specimens from Kish and Erech. The Sumerians had a developed religion, a literature, an elaborate system of law, and the habit of keeping written records of business transactions. The later Babylonians and Assyrians looked back to them as the originators of civilization, transcribed their literature, and made dictionaries of their language. We shall have occasion to refer to some of this literature later.

Over all this area there was no one continuous *régime*. What the early records seem to show is, rather, a number of towns, each of which emerges for a time and perhaps claims some sort of headship, only to sink back presently and be superseded by another. The principal names are those of Kish, Erech, Ur, Lagash, Agadé, Isin, Babylon. Each has its list of 'dynasties' and names of kings, starting from before the Flood, but becoming historical (*i.e.*, capable of being checked from extant monuments) at a surprisingly

early date. We shall record below the discovery of an inscription with the names of the first kings of the Ist Dynasty of Ur, somewhere about 3500 B.C.[1] From Ur-nina, the first king of Lagash (*c.* 3100 B.C.), we have inscriptions recording his buildings, and bas-reliefs representing the royal family, besides legal and business documents; and from this time monuments become plentiful, and an outline history, in which the names of a few conspicuous rulers emerge, can be put together. That, however, is not our business here. Two rulers alone need be singled out—Sargon of Agadé and Hammurabi.

Sargon, who founded the kingdom of Agadé about 2528, or earlier, was the first king to leave a name which was remembered in all subsequent Mesopotamian history. He was apparently a man of low origin, who put himself at the head of a rising against the then dominant power of Erech, and proceeded to secure, peacefully or by force, the submission of Kish and the Sumerian cities of the south—Ur, Lagash, Nippur, and the rest. He defeated the Elamites on the east and the Amorites on the west, reached the Mediterranean, and may have crossed over to Cyprus. For a time he ruled an empire stretching from Elam and Susa to Cilicia, and his fame became legendary, although his reign seems to have ended in a general revolt. Lower

[1] It should be noted once for all that all dates in this early period have a margin of doubt of several centuries. Here are four leading dates as given in two recognized authorities, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. i (1923), and Sidney Smith's *Early History of Assyria* (1928):

	C.A.H.	Smith
Mesannipadda (Ist Dynasty of Ur) . . .	4216	3000
Sargon of Agadé	2872	2528
Ur-nammu (IIIrd Dynasty of Ur) . . .	2474	2277
Hammurabi (Ist Dynasty of Babylon) . . .	2123	1940

More recently (*Antiquaries' Journal*, xix (1939), 46) Mr Smith has expressed himself in favour of a date for Hammurabi about a century later (1860–1850 or later). It is difficult for the layman to keep pace with the rapid changes of opinion among the experts. The fact is that the evidence is so incomplete, and so often being added to, that dogmatism is out of place, and the general reader must be content to know that in dating the rulers of the second millennium B.C. a margin of a century or so must still be allowed, and more for the millennia which precede.

Mesopotamia then reverted to its former state of inter-city warfare, until another great ruler arose in the person of Hammurabi of Babylon (about 2000 B.C.). The then dominant local king was Rim-sin, of Larsa and Ur; but Hammurabi totally defeated him, and established Babylon in a position of hegemony which was never again challenged by any of the cities of Sumer and Akkad. Of him we shall have to hear much; for not only is there a possible connexion between him and Abraham, but the discovery of his code of laws provides us with invaluable material for comparison with the laws of Moses.

After this short outline of the history of the region, with the names of the principal cities and rulers, it is possible to take up the narrative of the discoveries which have within the last half-century made them known to us. The story of discovery will be given, site by site, roughly in chronological order.

Telloh (Lagash)

The age of scientific exploration did not dawn all at once, and the first excavation to be recorded, though very fruitful, was by no means a model of the way in which an excavation should be conducted. In 1877 E. de Sarzec was appointed French Consul at Basra, and at once set about inquiries for a suitable site to excavate. It will be remembered that this was the time when the archæological world was filled with the excitement caused by the discovery of the Creation and Deluge tablets by George Smith; but no Frenchman had been at work in Mesopotamia since Botta and Place, whose finds at Khorsabad and Kuyunjik had been overshadowed by those of Layard, Rawlinson, and Rassam. De Sarzec, therefore, was anxious to do something for the credit of his country; and his inquiries led him to a place called Telloh, where a series of mounds lay along a water-course, the Shatt el-Hai, running from the Tigris at Kut el-Amara to the Euphrates near Ur. The site is now known to be that of the ancient Sumerian

city of Lagash. De Sarzec began excavations there at once, apparently without any particular authority, and obtained a considerable number of sculptures, which he sold to the Louvre. On the strength of this he was able to obtain the official support of the French Government and a grant of money, with which he resumed work in 1880. He obtained a fine series of statues of the early governors at Lagash, thus opening up a new chapter in art history; also the celebrated Vulture Stelé of Eannatum, king of Lagash about 3000 B.C., so called from the vultures which are shown devouring the king's defeated enemies, the people of Umma. He also found the records, inscribed on clay prisms, of the reign of Gudea, king of Lagash about 2600 B.C. His methods were unsystematic; many mounds were attacked, but none cleared thoroughly. His object was to obtain antiquities quickly, not to trace out the history of the site; and after 1881 his campaigns of excavation became less frequent, while no steps were taken to protect the mounds between whiles. The natural result was that the natives, encouraged by the dealers in Baghdad, set about exploration on their own account. George Smith's sensational discoveries had made them realize the value of tablets, which also had the advantage, for illicit operators, of being easy to conceal and transport.

Their efforts were rewarded with success. In a small and inconspicuous mound they found a group of small rooms filled with clay tablets heaped upon shelves or packed in pots—evidently the archive office of Lagash. Before the tablets could be cleared away de Sarzec heard rumours of the find, and went to investigate, whereupon the natives hurriedly filled up their pit, set to work ostentatiously elsewhere, and stoutly denied all knowledge of any discovery of tablets. They were successful in diverting his attention from the important mound, and eventually he had to retire baffled. Operations were then resumed, and the whole find, amounting to some forty thousand tablets, was cleared out and divided between the diggers and the

dealers. Then, however, came a disappointment. They had been counting on literary texts, which they understood would command fabulous prices in the museums of Europe; but an archæologist who was consulted told them that they were only business documents, such as accounts and contracts, inventories of workmen and stores, and the like. Thereupon the bottom dropped out of the market; every one sold his share for what he could get, and tablets were obtainable in any quantity at Baghdad and Basra for a few pence. The result was that the archives of Lagash were scattered over the museums of Europe and America entirely at haphazard; and the publication of them has necessarily been equally partial and unconnected. It is true that they did not consist of literary or historical texts; but there is much economic history to be learned from business documents, and they, even more than literary texts, need to be studied together and calendared or published systematically. Nevertheless, the tablets of Telloh were a great discovery, and have contributed much to our knowledge of the early history of Sumer, in which Lagash held an important place until the final decay of Sumerian power, about 2300 B.C.; while the artistic products of de Sarzec's excavations form a valuable part of the treasures of the Louvre.[1]

Nippur: The Sumerian Story of the Creation and the Deluge

More satisfactory, though still not attaining full scientific precision, was the next excavation to be described, that of the American expeditions to Nippur. These originated in a mission sent to reconnoitre in Mesopotamia in 1884. The members of the mission decided that, in view of the amount of work already done in Assyria, where the great finds had presumably already been made, it would be more

[1] There were later and more scientific excavations by de Genouillac (1928–31), but the results do not concern us here.

profitable to devote their attention to Babylonia, where, as de Sarzec's work at Telloh showed, monuments of a far earlier period might be expected. After inspecting several sites from Babylon southwards they finally reported in favour of investigating the mounds of Niffer, known to be the site of the ancient city of Nippur, and, having been long deserted of all habitation, presenting no obstacle of modern buildings to excavation. Eventually this recommendation was taken up by the University of Pennsylvania (whose interest in Mesopotamian research was again shown after the Great War, when they combined with the British Museum in the excavation of Ur); and in 1889 an expedition was sent to Nippur, under the leadership of J. P. Peters, with the assistance of H. V. Hilprecht, J. H. Haynes (a member of the original mission), and others. Work continued intermittently until 1900, Hilprecht becoming director of the excavations in 1898. As sometimes happens, relations between the chiefs of the party were not very harmonious, and ultimately became embittered; but Sir Ernest Budge gives special praise to the work of Haynes, who laboured continuously in a subordinate position and made the principal discoveries of tablets, which constituted the most valuable result of the expedition.[1]

Nippur, at the time of its greatness, stood upon the Euphrates, which ran through its centre, some fifty miles south-east of Babylon. It was never politically a leading state. There are no dynasties of Nippur, as there are of Kish or Ur or Erech. But it was the centre of the Sumerian religion. Nippur was "the city of Enlil," and its principal building was the temple of Enlil, the great earth-god who was at the head of the Sumerian pantheon. All the rulers of Sumer and Akkad derived their authority from Enlil, and all, therefore, treated Nippur with respect; and more than one, from Ur-nina in the thirty-first century to Ashur-bani-pal in the seventh, rebuilt or restored or enlarged its

[1] Budge, *The Rise and Progress of Assyriology* (1925), p. 249.

temple. It was also a commercial centre, and near to it was "the river Chebar," where Ezekiel dwelt in exile. But it was never a royal capital, and statues and bas-reliefs were not much to be looked for. What the explorers hoped for was to find the temple library, which might contain the literature of the Sumerian religion. The condition of the site was very different from what it had been in the city's great days. The Euphrates has changed its course, and now flows twenty miles or more away to the west, and Niffer remains as a deserted group of mounds surrounded by swamps, which at times become lagoons. Thus protected, the site had escaped disturbance either by building operations or by antika-hunters, and the American excavators had a clear field.

Their operations had a great success. Among the houses in the business part of the town over thirty thousand tablets were found, comprising accounts and contracts from the fourth millennium to the fifth century B.C. But, more important than these, the excavators found, in a mound near the temple, the temple library, with over twenty thousand tablets of the third millennium, including many literary and religious texts. These were the principal results of the excavations, but although various narratives of the expedition were issued by members of it, the publication of the texts, which was what scholars most needed, was long delayed. Some of the tablets were retained at Constantinople, others remained for years in packing cases in the Philadelphia Museum; and when they came to be studied much had to be done in the way of cleaning and mending. It was not until 1914 that a considerable publication of texts was made by A. Poebel.

The texts are of very varied character. Many are grammatical works, made by Semitic scribes to assist in the study of Sumerian texts; and these are equally useful to modern scholars. Others contain lists of rulers, going back to mythical and semi-mythical times. It was from lists such as these that Berossus, a priest of Babylon in the

third century B.C., compiled his annals of Babylonia and Assyria, fragments of which have come down to us in quotations by Eusebius and other Christian writers. The Nippur lists do not, indeed, include the kings before the Flood, of whom ten reigned (according to the records followed by Berossus) for 432,000 years, but after the Flood they include the god Tammuz, who ruled in Erech for a hundred years, Etana, "the shepherd who ascended to heaven," who ruled in Kish for 635 years, and Gilgamish, whose epic included the story of the Flood, and who ruled in Erech for 126 years. So for the post-diluvian period we seem to have in these fragmentary lists the chronological outline as known to Sumerian tradition, which remained unsuperseded until Hellenistic times; and when the historical period is reached these lists of dynasties and kings supply a most valuable framework. If all people were as punctilious in their chronological records as were the Babylonians and Assyrians the task of the historian would be much easier.

The religious texts among the Nippur tablets include incantations and hymns to the gods, notably a fine hymn to Ishtar. Among works of a didactic character there is the story of one who has been called the Babylonian Job, a just man persecuted by demons, who protests that he has always performed his religious duties, and appeals to the gods and the priests to know why he has been tormented and what he must do. In the end he is justified and made happy. But of all the religious texts that which has most interest for us is the Sumerian version of the Deluge story (Plate XI). We have seen above (p. 42) the form which it had assumed in the late Assyrian period, as represented in the tablets found in the library of Ashur-bani-pal at Nineveh, where it is inserted in the narrative of the adventures of the hero Gilgamish, as a story told by Utanapishtim, who for his virtues had been preserved in a great boat, and subsequently rewarded by immortality. Even before the discovery of the Nippur tablets it was

known that an earlier version, or earlier versions, of the legend had existed, since two fragments had been found, one dated about 1967 B.C., the other probably later. The Nippur text was probably written before 2100, but the fact that it is written in Sumerian, and not in Semitic, is proof that the legend goes back to a much earlier origin. Unfortunately, it is very imperfect. More than half of the tablet is lost, and many of the lines are mutilated. It is clear, however, that it differs considerably from the later Semitic-Babylonian form preserved in the Nineveh tablets. It is not an episode in the Gilgamish epic,[1] and it is very much shorter; and, so far as can be gathered in its mutilated condition, some of the details characteristic both of the later Babylonian form and of the Hebrew story are absent.

The beginning of the tablet is lost, and when the text begins it is with a reference to the creation of mankind to provide worshippers for the gods:[2]

The people will I cause to . . . in their settlements.
Cities . . . shall man build, in their protection will I cause him to rest,
That he may lay the brick of our houses in a clean spot,
That in a clean spot he may establish our . . .
. . . . . .
When Anu, Enlil, Enki, and Ninkharsagga
Created the black-headed [*i.e.*, mankind],
The *niggilma* [what this means is unknown] of the earth they caused the earth to produce,
The animals, the four-legged creatures of the field, they artfully called into existence.

Next a reference is made to the founding of the five most ancient cities of Sumer—Eridu, Larak, Sippar, Shuruppak, and one of which the name is doubtful. Shuruppak, it will be remembered, is the town of Uta-napishtim in the later version, while Sippar, or Sippara, is the place at

[1] A Sumerian version of part of the Gilgamish epic has come to light on a tablet found at Ur in 1926–27, but it is not the part relating to the Deluge (*British Museum Quarterly*, vii, 79).

[2] The following versions are those of L. W. King, in his British Academy Schweich Lectures, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt in relation to Hebrew Tradition* (1918).

which, in the version preserved by Berossus, his hero Xisuthrus is bidden bury the records of the pre-diluvian world. Larak, or Larankha, is the town from which the father of Xisuthrus came. Whether any of these cities was the home of the hero of the Sumerian version is not clear. That hero is named Ziusudu, which is said to be linguistically the Sumerian equivalent of the Semitic name Uta-napishtim. It is thus an indication that the two versions have a common source. Ziusudu, however, is not a private individual, like Uta-napishtim and Noah, but a king and priest. He appears after the council of the gods, headed by Anu and Enlil, had resolved on the destruction of mankind, a decision which causes much grief to the goddess Nintu, who corresponds to Ishtar in the Babylonian story:

At that time Ziusudu, the king . . . priest of the god . . .
Made a very great . . .
In humility he prostrates himself, in reverence . . .
Daily he stands in attendance . . .
A dream, such as had not been before, comes forth.

A much mutilated passage then describes the warning received by Ziusudu from one of the gods, presumably in the dream mentioned in the previous passage:

Ziusudu, standing at its side, heard . . .
"At the wall on my left side take thy stand, and . . .
At the wall I will speak a word to thee . . .
O my devout one . . .
By our hand a flood . . . will be sent
To destroy the seed of mankind . . . [This]
Is the decision, the word of the assembly [of the gods]."

The reference to a wall is to be understood by the passage in the Babylonian version, where the god's warning is addressed to a wall ("O reed-hut, hear! O wall, understand"), and Uta-napishtim is expected to overhear it. In Berossus also the warning is conveyed in a dream. The mutilation of the tablet has caused the loss of whatever description there may have been of the building of the ark;

but that an ark there was appears from the next passage preserved, which describes the Deluge:

All the mighty wind-storms together blew,
The flood . . . raged.
When for seven days, for seven nights,
The flood had overwhelmed the land,
When the wind-storm had driven the great boat over the mighty waters,
The Sun-god came forth, shedding light over heaven and earth.
Ziusudu opened the opening of the great boat;
The light of the hero, the Sun-god, he causes to enter into the interior of the great boat.
Ziusudu, the king,
Bows himself down before the Sun-god;
The king sacrifices an ox, a sheep he slaughters.

There the narrative breaks off. It will be seen that it is much shorter than either the Babylonian or the Hebrew version. The account of the building of the ark must have been brief, and there is no evidence to show whether animals were taken on board it. Further, there is apparently no room for the episode of the sending out of birds to test the falling of the waters, which is the most striking proof of the common origin of the Babylonian and Hebrew versions. It may be that the Nippur tablet preserves the Sumerian narrative only in an abbreviated form, but of this there is no proof. Nevertheless, there are sufficient points of similarity to link the Sumerian story with that of Genesis; the virtuous man, the warning from the gods, the flood, the great boat, the thanksgiving on the issue from the ark.

The Babylonian and Sumerian versions of the Deluge story have been set out at some length, because this is one of the most striking examples of a connexion between the Hebrew literature and that of Babylonia. That there is a connexion will not be disputed, but when or how it came about is uncertain, and different views have been held. It cannot have come from the exile of the Jews in Babylonia, for even if the Pentateuch was put together in its present

form during or after the Exile one of the two narratives out of which Genesis vi–ix is supposed by scholars to be compounded is the chronicle called J (see p. 21), which the same scholars assign to the eighth or ninth century B.C., long before the Exile. There would seem to be two alternatives. The story of the Flood may have been brought by Abraham and his family from Ur. As we shall see when we come to describe the excavation of Ur, the spade has revealed there unquestionable evidence of a great flood, which would amply account for the existence of the tradition in that city. Or, as we shall see when we come to the recent excavations in Syria, we now have evidence from them and from the Amarna letters (see p. 71) that when the children of Israel entered Canaan after the Exodus they found there peoples in touch with Babylonian civilization, and using the Babylonian language and writing. It is even possible that Ras Shamra (see p. 153) or some other site may reveal the existence of a Deluge story among the Canaanite tribes into whose midst the Israelites came. Certain it is that there is some connexion between the Hebrew and the Babylonian traditions, and there is nothing surprising or disquicting in this. The Israelites did not live an isolated existence, cut off from all neighbours. They were one tribe or people among many, sharing customs, traditions, and beliefs. What is unique and marvellous in the history of the children of Israel is the way in which these common customs, traditions, and beliefs were spiritualized among them, and the whole standard of religious thought elevated by the inspiration, as we believe, of God educating His chosen people.

Susa: The Laws of Hammurabi

The next great discovery, though thoroughly Babylonian in origin and character, was actually made in a region which lies outside the borders of modern Iraq, and within what was formerly known as Persia and now as Iran. In 1895

France obtained from the Persian Government (for a price) the exclusive right to excavate in Persia, and to retain all objects found in the excavations—a concession which the Iranian Government has only lately and with difficulty succeeded in bringing to an end. While it lasted the concession was valuable to France and beneficial to scholarship in general, for work was done, and done scientifically, which otherwise would not have been done. The first site to which the French devoted their attention was that of Susa. Susa, which lies on the eastern edge of the Tigris valley, where the ground rises towards the Iranian hills, was famous as the capital of Persia in the days of Darius and Xerxes, and had recently become archæologically prominent through some operations conducted on his own account by M. Dieulafoy. Between 1884 and 1886 he had excavated the palace of Artaxerxes Mnemon, from which he sent to the Louvre a fine frieze, some bull-capitals, and other objects. Accordingly when the concession had been obtained from the Persian Government an expedition was sent to excavate Susa thoroughly, under the leadership of Jacques de Morgan.

De Morgan was a trained engineer and archæologist (he had previously been Director of the Service of Antiquities in Egypt), and from 1897 to 1912 he worked in Persia methodically. With the results bearing on Persian art and history we are not concerned, but by carrying his work through to the lower strata of the mounds he obtained a quantity of objects belonging to Sumerian and Babylonian times. Among these were some very early pottery, hundreds of inscribed bricks in Sumerian and early Semitic writing, monuments of kings of the dynasty of Sargon of Agadé, including notably the great stelé of Victory, originally dedicated by Naram-sin at Sippar, and, above all, the great slab carved with the laws of Hammurabi of Babylon (Plate XII).

The discovery was made in December 1901 and January 1902, when workmen unearthed three fragments of black

diorite stone, which, when fitted together, formed a slab about 7 feet 4 inches high, and from 6 feet 2½ inches to 5 feet 4½ inches wide. On its face there is at the top a representation of the king standing, receiving the laws from a seated god, below which there were originally eleven columns of cuneiform script, five of which have been erased. On the back there are twenty-eight more columns of text. The reason for the erasure is supplied by a number of other monuments found at Susa, as mentioned above, on which the original inscriptions have been cut away to make place for inscriptions by a certain king of Elam. Evidently these were trophies carried away from the cities of Babylonia in the days of its decline; and this accounts for the presence in Susa of this great monument of the laws of Babylon. It has now migrated again to the Louvre Museum in Paris. It was published without delay, with a translation by Father Scheil (1902), and has since been translated, studied, and commented upon in the language of every country that concerns itself with ancient jurisprudence, Babylonian history, or Biblical research.

Its character, date, and authority are declared in its opening words. It is an inscription set up by "Hammurabi, son of Sin-muballit, descendant of Sumu-lailu." This at once identifies him with the sixth king of the Ist Dynasty of Babylon, who was the son of Sin-muballit, the fifth king, and great-great-grandson of Sumu-lailum, the second king. He was the most famous of all the early kings of Babylon. According to the chronicle of his reign, he reigned for forty-three years. In his thirtieth year he defeated Elam, and in his thirty-first he crushed and captured Rim-sin, king of Larsa, his most powerful rival; and henceforward the supremacy of Babylon was unquestioned until the rise of Assyria, though the rulers of Babylon itself varied in race. His precise date is uncertain. *The Cambridge Ancient History* gives it as 2123–2081; a more recent estimate (see p. 108) is 1940 or later. His name was well known, even before the discovery of his laws, from a number of in-

scriptions and letters, including the chronicle of his reign (in which the principal event in each year is recorded), a series of letters to his governor at Larsa, and quantities of contracts and other documents.

A special point of interest for the Bible student is the identification which has been suggested of Hammurabi with Amraphel, king of Shinar, one of the four kings defeated by Abraham (Gen. xiv): "And it came to pass in the days of Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of Goiim . . ." These four kings are represented to have joined together to reduce to obedience five kings, including those of Sodom and Gomorrah, who were vassals of Chedorlaomer. It was argued by some leading Assyriologists that Amraphel was a slight corruption of the name Hammurabi, that Arioch of Ellasar was Eri-aku of Larsa, that Chedorlaomer was a good Elamite name Kudur-lagamar, analogous to the known name Kudur-mabug of Larsa; Tidal, king of Goiim, might be Tudkhaliah, king of the Hittites. The identification would have the advantage of providing an approximate date for Abraham, and for a time it was generally accepted. Now, however, scholars feel increasing difficulty about it. Amraphel is not a good representation of Hammurabi; the title "king of Shinar," instead of "king of Babylon," is unusual (though perhaps justifiable in view of Genesis xi, 2, where the Tower of Babel is located in the land of Shinar); Rim-sin, not Eri-aku, was the ruler of Larsa contemporary with Hammurabi; and Hammurabi, so far from being a vassal or ally of the king of Elam, was in constant enmity with that country. The general tendency, therefore, of scholars now is to doubt the identification; and though some still adhere to it, in default of further evidence it would not be safe to depend upon it.[1]

[1] An alternative is based on the identification of Tidal with Tudkhaliah, king of the Hittites. The first king of that name was approximately contemporary with Hammurabi, but there was a second, some two hundred years later. This would bring down the date of Abraham to about 1600 B.C.

The code of Hammurabi would appear to have been promulgated in the latter part of his reign; for in the preamble he speaks of his defeat of Larsa, which his chronicle records as the achievement of his thirty-first year. It was not the first code of laws to be current in Mesopotamia, for fragments of earlier Sumerian codes, dating from the IIIrd Dynasty of Ur, have been found on tablets from Nippur and Warka, and it is quite possible that many of Hammurabi's laws were taken over from those previously in force. It did, however, become the standard basis of law in Mesopotamia, and portions of copies of it were found in the library of Ashur-bani-pal at Nineveh, which F. Delitzsch had already identified as being of the time of Hammurabi, on the strength of a comparison of them with legal documents of his reign. The discovery of the original in the Susa stelé removed all doubt; and it has the further immense advantage that it leaves no opening for the suspicion, to which scholars are prone when they have the opportunity, that some parts of it may be due to subsequent interpolation. Here we have the original contemporary document, untampered with save for the five columns obliterated.

For the Bible student the interest of the laws of Hammurabi lies, of course, in the comparison of them with the laws of Moses. That there are resemblances is obvious; but that they do not amount to identity will be seen from a comparison of a few instances in which the resemblance is greatest.

Laws of Hammurabi [1]	Laws of Moses
C. 8. If a man has stolen ox or sheep or ass, whether from the temple or the palace, he shall pay thirtyfold. If from a poor man, he shall render tenfold. If the thief has not wherewith to pay he shall be put to death.	If a man shall steal an ox, or a sheep, and kill it, or sell it, he shall restore five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep. . . . If he have nothing, then he shall be sold for his theft. [Exod. xxii, 1, 3.]

[1] From the extra volume of Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (1904), p. 599 ff.

C. 14. If a man has stolen the young son of a freeman he shall be put to death.

He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death. [Exod. xxi, 16.]

C. 112. If a man . . . has given silver, gold, precious stones or portable treasures to a man . . . and that man has not given whatever was given, . . . but has taken it for himself, . . . that man shall give to the owner fivefold whatever was given him.

If a man shall deliver unto his neighbour money or stuff to keep . . . the master of the house shall be brought unto the judges, to see whether he have put his hand unto his neighbour's goods. . . . And whom the judges shall condemn, he shall pay double unto his neighbour. [Exod. xxii, 7–9.]

C. 117. If a debt has seized a man, and he has given his wife, his son, or his daughter for the money, or has handed them over to work off the debt; for three years they shall work in the house of their buyer, in the fourth year he shall set them at liberty.

If thy brother, an Hebrew man, or an Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years, then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee. And when thou sendest him out free from thee, thou shalt not let him go away empty. . . . He hath been worth a double hired servant to thee, in serving thee six years. [Deut. xv, 12, 13, 18.]

C. 138. If a man has put away his bride who has not borne him children he shall give her money as much as her bride-price. Further, he shall pay her the marriage portion which she brought from her father's house, and shall put her away.

When a man hath taken a wife and married her, and it come to pass that she find no favour in his eyes, . . . then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house. [Deut. xxiv, 1.]

C. 195. If a man has struck his father one shall cut off his hands.

He that smiteth his father, or his mother, shall be surely put to death. [Exod. xxi, 15.]

C. 196–198. If a man has caused the loss of an eye to a person of the upper class one shall cause his eye to be lost. If he has shattered his limb one shall shatter his limb. If he has caused a poor man to lose his eye, or has shattered a poor man's limb, he shall pay one mina of silver.

If a man cause a blemish in his neighbour; as he hath done, so shall it be done to him; breach for breach, eye for eye, tooth for tooth: as he hath caused a blemish in a man, so shall it be done to him again. [Lev. xxiv, 19, 20.]

C. 209–210. If a man has struck the daughter of a person of the upper class, and caused her to drop what is in her womb, . . . if that woman has died, one shall put to death his daughter.

If men strive, and hurt a woman with child, so that her fruit depart from her, . . . if any mischief follow, then thou shalt give life for life. [Exod. xxi, 22, 23.]

C. 249. If a man has hired an ox, and God has struck it and it has died, the man who has hired the ox shall swear before God and shall go free.

If a man deliver unto his neighbour an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast, to keep, and it die, or be hurt, or driven away, no man seeing it: then shall an oath of the Lord be between them both, that he hath not put his hand unto his neighbour's goods; and the owner of it shall accept thereof, and he shall not make it good. [Exod. xxii, 10, 11.]

C. 250–251. If a savage bull in his charge has gored a man and caused him to die that case has no remedy. If the ox has pushed a man, by pushing has made known its vice, and he has not blunted his horn, has not shut up his ox, and that ox has gored a man of gentle birth and caused him to die, he shall pay half a mina of silver.

If an ox gore a man or a woman, that they die: then the ox shall be surely stoned, and his flesh shall not be eaten, but the owner of the ox shall be quit. But if the ox were wont to push with his horn in time past, and it hath been testified to his owner, and he hath not kept him in, but that he hath killed a man or a woman; the ox shall be stoned, and his owner also shall be put to death. [Exod. xxi, 28, 29.]

These examples are taken from cases where there is some similarity in the matter at issue, and it will be seen that the provisions of the two codes are almost never the same. It is only natural that in codes dealing with peoples in somewhat similar conditions, and related in race, there should be some similarity in the incidents leading to litigation, and likewise in the penalties allotted to defaults. But the resemblances here are small; and when it is remembered that several centuries separate the times of Hammurabi and Moses, that the greater part of the provisions of the Babylonian code have no parallels in the Hebrew code, and *vice versa*, it will be realized that the

suggestion that the Hebrew legislation was based upon the Babylonian cannot seriously be maintained. The most that can be said is that the laws of Hammurabi were operative for many centuries in Mesopotamia; that their influence would naturally have spread, with other Babylonian influences, to the inhabitants of Syria and Palestine; and that when the Hebrews came to settle down in Palestine their legislation would naturally have taken on something of the colour of that of their neighbours; which would not prevent it from having also a definite colour of its own.

Any comparison of the code of Hammurabi with that which we find in the Pentateuch is, of course, made more difficult by the uncertainty as to whether all the Pentateuchal legislation is of one period, and, if so, of what period. Here the discovery of the Hammurabi code has at least this relevance, that it shows that a code quite as elaborate as that of the Pentateuch was in force in the lands from which Abraham came many centuries before the date of Moses. There is, therefore, nothing anachronistic in the idea of a detailed code of law among the Israelites when they settled in the land of Palestine, though how much of the legislation which now occupies the books of Exodus and Leviticus is actually to be assigned to this period remains an open question for the examination of scholars.

Babylon

It may be thought strange that Babylon, the most famous town in all Mesopotamia, was not the first objective of modern research. A few early travellers had, in fact, visited the site, and a few tentative explorations had been made. The Abbé J. Beauchamps in 1781–85 found natives digging for building materials on the site, and obtained a few inscribed bricks, which he sent to Paris. C. J. Rich (see p. 35) visited the site, and also Birs-i-Nimrûd (Borsippa), a few miles to the south, which some travellers held to be the Tower of Babel. He made a few small

sondages among the ruins of Babylon, but without any encouraging results. The fact was that the ruins were spread over a large area, part of which was inhabited; they had been extensively plundered by natives in search of building materials for centuries, so that the whole site was confused; the great temple-tower, or ziggurat (the real original of the Tower of Babel), was partially ruined already in the time of Alexander, who planned to rebuild it, and had since been so completely wrecked as to be unrecognizable; and altogether it was an unattractive site for excavators, who came to the conclusion that all had been too extensively ransacked and destroyed to hold out any hopes of profitable results.

Real exploration of Babylon only began with the expeditions sent out by the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft from 1899 onwards, under the direction of R. Koldewey. These confirmed the generally wrecked character of the site, but also revealed much as to its plan, architecture, and ornamentation. The buildings found were almost wholly the work of Nebuchadrezzar, who rebuilt the previous city most extensively, his own enormous palace ("this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power and for the honour of my majesty") being the most conspicuous building of all. Adjoining it was the Ishtar Gate, the most spectacular result of the German excavations. This was a double gate, passing through the double wall of the main fortification, and the front of it and the passageways were lined with rows of bulls and dragons, executed in enamelled brick of lively colours. It is calculated that there were 575 of them, depicted in line above line on the walls, advancing towards the traveller entering the gate. All above floor-level are wrecked, but from the *débris* it has been possible to reconstruct a representative portion of the wall, which may be seen in the Berlin Museum. The decoration was continued below pavement level, and from this part the manner of arrangement and the spacing can be recovered (Plate XI).

This was the chief result of the excavations, which otherwise were somewhat disappointing so far as any recovery of the splendour of the ancient city or of historical records is concerned. Of the great ziggurat, which, according to Herodotus, rose to a height of eight stages, only the ground plan now remains, so that Koldewey was inclined to regard the stage-construction as mythical. This, however, is quite a gratuitous rejection of tradition, since there is no evidence against it, and the ziggurat at Ur, which will be described later, furnishes ample confirmation. Of the earlier history of Babylon little was recoverable. Excavation did at one part reach the level of the city of Hammurabi, which was evidently destroyed by fire; but everything of earlier date now lies below the water-level. Not by any means all the area covered by ancient Babylon has been uncovered, but the most important sites have been explored, and it is doubtful whether the enormous expense of a complete clearance would be justifiable or remunerative.

Kalah Shergat (Ashur)

Another German excavation, equally prolonged and thorough, must be mentioned, this time in northern Mesopotamia. It has been recorded above that excavations were made by Place and Rassam at Kalah Shergat, some sixty miles south of Mosul, and that the discovery by the latter of foundation tablets identified the site as that of Ashur, one of the ancient capitals of Assyria. Nothing but casual and sporadic digging took place here, however, until 1903, when a concession was obtained by the Germans to excavate it. The work, after being begun by Koldewey, was directed by W. Andrae, and was carried out very methodically until 1914. A large number of inscriptions and tablets were found, and the successive levels planned. At the time of the outbreak of war in that year a large consignment of objects was on its way to Germany by sea, and

the vessel carrying it, to avoid capture, put into Lisbon, where the antiquities were impounded. Since there were no students of cuneiform in Portugal, it was suggested that they should be sent on to London; but the Portuguese expressed their intention of keeping them and publishing them. After the war, however, they were easily persuaded to cede them to Germany, and thus a satisfactory solution was arrived at, for the objects had been discovered by Germans, and in Berlin they would be sure of competent publication. Another consignment of antiquities, packed for transmission to Berlin, was found when the British occupied Mesopotamia, and was removed to the base at Basra. Since the conditions under which they were stored were far from satisfactory, representations were made in favour of their being transferred to London. Difficulties of transport, however, made this impossible until the end of the war. Somewhat complicated negotiations then followed, but eventually the British Government decided that all should be sent to Berlin, with the exception of a small selection reserved for the British Museum. With this arrangement the German representatives expressed themselves as entirely satisfied.[1]

The results of the Ashur excavations have been described by Andrae in a series of publications issued by the Orient-gesellschaft, dealing severally with the fortifications, the temples, the inscriptions, and the pottery, besides the later city of the Parthian period. Many texts have also been published, including some in Hittite hieroglyphs, but none of a literary nature. Thanks to the large number of building inscriptions, the history of the site has been fully elucidated, and it must be the most thoroughly excavated site in Mesopotamia. Its occupation was continuous from the early part of the third millennium B.C. down to Parthian times, after which it declined into obscurity. Its periods of greatest prosperity were in the nineteenth century under

[1] No reference is made to this episode in Andrae's comprehensive report of the expedition, *Das Wiedererstandene Assur* (Leipzig, 1938).

Shamsi-Adad I, in the thirteenth under Adadnirari I, Shalmaneser I, and Tukulti-Ninurta I, in the twelfth and eleventh under Tiglath-Pileser I, and in the ninth under Shalmaneser III. In the later period an interesting find was that of the tombs and sarcophagi of several kings, but all, unfortunately, completely robbed. The excavations of Ashur, with its temples, ziggurats, and palaces, have provided much material for Assyrian history and architecture, and the ritual texts are valuable for its religion; but they have no direct bearing upon the Bible narrative.

Ur

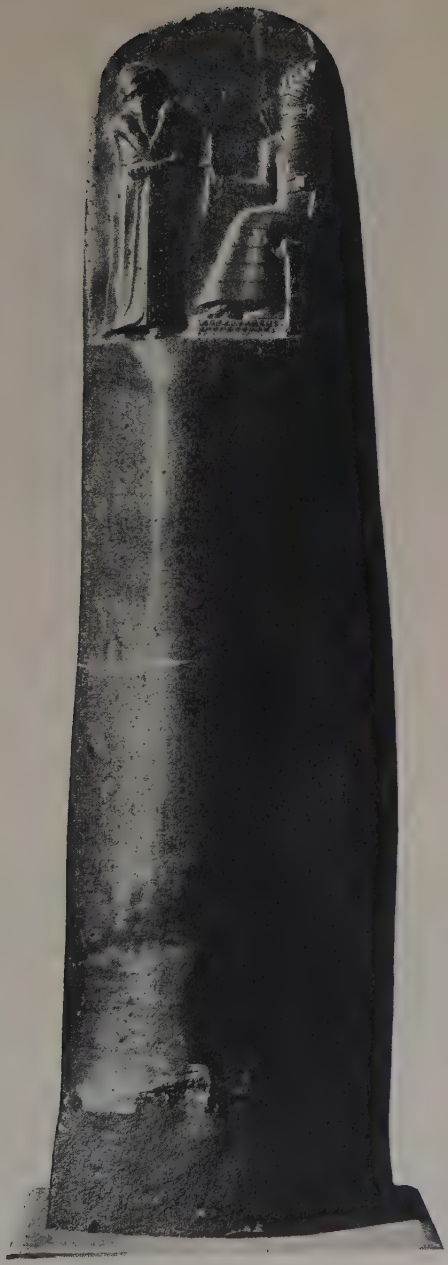
In the later stages of the Great War, when the British had occupied Baghdad and were in general control of the country, representations were made by the British Museum asking for the appointment of an officer to advise the military authorities on the avoidance of injury to the historical monuments of the country, and the conservation of any that came within the scope of military operations. Some such measures were necessary for the credit of the army, to avert charges, which would only too readily have been brought, of military vandalism and unnecessary destruction. It was also thought that opportunities might occur for useful research in Babylonia. The army chiefs willingly accepted this suggestion, and fortunately they had ready to their hand a former official of the Assyriological Department of the British Museum, Captain R. Campbell Thompson, then serving with the Intelligence Department in Mesopotamia. Captain Thompson was accordingly seconded for this duty in March 1918, and was able, in addition to his other duties, to carry out a few weeks' digging at Abu Shahrein, the site of Eridu, by repute one of the very earliest cities in Mesopotamia, where a small amount of work had been done by J. E. Taylor, Vice-Consul at Basra, in 1854. Thompson found evidence of Sumerian building in the third millennium B.C., when

the ziggurat was rebuilt by two kings of the IIIrd Dynasty of Ur, and also of a pre-Sumerian occupation by a people capable of producing fine pottery and tools, but who left no written records.

In the following year Mr H. R. Hall was sent out by the British Museum to continue Thompson's work, with special attention to Abu Shahrein (Eridu) and Tell el-Mukayyar (Ur), the latter site having been cursorily examined by his predecessor. In the event so much of importance was found at Ur, which also was a much more readily accessible site, that practically nothing more was done at Eridu. Taylor had dug some trenches at Tell el-Mukayyar in 1853, and had identified it as Ur, known in Scripture as Ur of the Chaldees and the birthplace of Abraham. Its ziggurat still stood out conspicuously, and Hall's first work was to clear its south-east face. (Like all Babylonian ziggurats, it is orientated with its *angles* aligned on the cardinal points of the compass.) He also excavated a palace of the IIIrd Dynasty of Ur and some later buildings, but after a brief visit to Abu Shahrein his attention was diverted to a small mound named Tell el-Obeid, about four miles west of Ur. Here he was rewarded by discoveries of a wholly new type. The building proved to be a small temple, which had been decorated with figures of lions and bulls formed of copper plates backed with bitumen on a wooden core, and with tongues, teeth, and eyes of coloured stones and shell. Still more striking was a large copper relief showing a double-headed eagle grasping the tails of two stags, who stand back to back (Plate XIII). All these may now be seen in the British Museum.

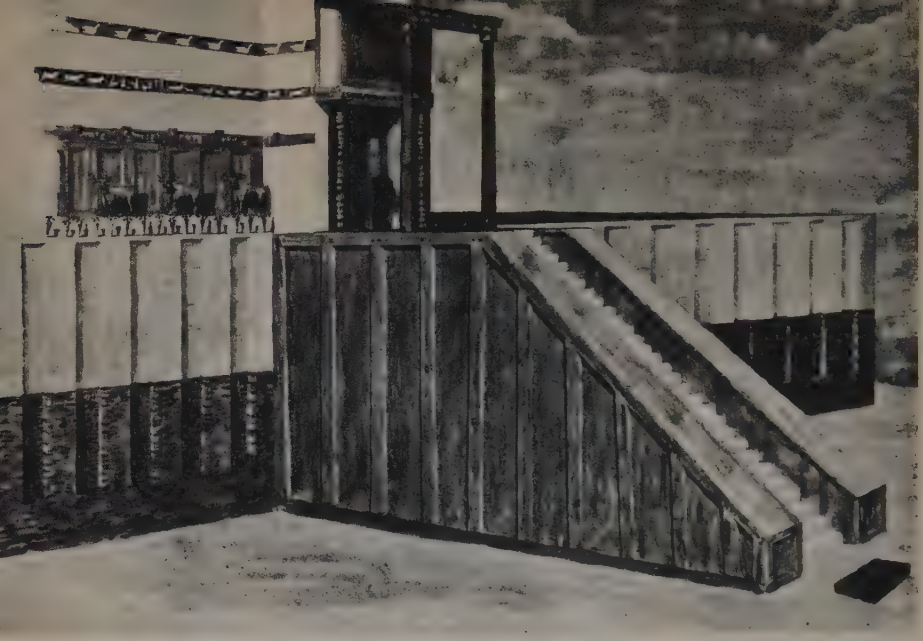
It was obviously necessary to follow up these discoveries by a large-scale excavation of Ur and El-Obeid. It was not possible immediately to arrange the financial basis for this, but in 1922, on the proposal of Dr G. B. Gordon, Director of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, an arrangement was made that the Museum should join

PLATE XII



THE LAWS OF HAMMURABI

Louvre. Photo Giraudon



THE TEMPLE AT TELL EL-OBEID (RESTORED)

From "Ur Excavations" (published by the Trustees of the British Museum), vol. i

THE IMGIG STELÉ AT TELL EL-OBEID

From "Ur Excavations" (published by the Trustees of the British Museum), vol. i

the British Museum in the campaign, the objects discovered being divided between the two museums and the official Museum at Baghdad, then coming into being under the auspices of Miss Gertrude Bell. So long as Dr Gordon and Miss Bell were at the head of their respective institutions this arrangement worked with perfect smoothness, and to the advantage of all three museums, which thereby acquired a number of objects of first-class importance, which might otherwise have been still underground to-day. Mr Hall being no longer available, the leadership of the expedition was entrusted to Mr Leonard Woolley, who had worked for the British Museum previously at Carchemish. Under his direction a series of campaigns was conducted at Ur from 1922 to 1934 which began a new epoch in the history of Mesopotamian archæology.

It will be convenient first to complete the story of El-Obeid, although actually this belongs to Woolley's second season. In the season of 1923–24 he completed the clearance of the little temple, showing that it consisted of a solid platform approached by a flight of steps, on the top of which stood a temple (Plate XIII). At the head of the stairs was a porch, with pillars covered by mosaics of coloured stones and mother-of-pearl. The door protected by the porch was guarded by the foreparts of two large copper lions, and over the entrance was the great copper relief discovered by Mr Hall. On a ledge between the top of the platform and the temple stood a row of small copper bulls, in the round, while the temple itself was banded by a series of friezes—one of copper bulls *couchant* in high relief, others of processions of cattle and birds, executed in limestone or shell, set into a bitumen background, and one with a remarkable milking scene—all in a technique hitherto quite unknown. Further, by great good fortune the date of the temple was fixed by the discovery of its foundation tablet, which records that "A-anni-padda, king of Ur, son of Mes-anni-padda, king of Ur, has built a temple for Nin-khursag." Now the Sumerian king-lists (p. 113),

after two dynasties of Kish and Erech, whose kings reign for periods of from 1200 to 100 years each, give the Ist Dynasty of Ur, whose first king is Mesannipadda. Aannipadda is not named, but it is likely that he has been confused, owing to the similarity of name, with his father, to whom eighty years are allotted. The El-Obeid tablet accordingly confirms the historical character of the king-lists from this point onwards, and gives a date for the temple which even the most cautious scholars do not bring down much later than 3100 B.C. The temple and platform were twice rebuilt, the final builder being Dungi or Shulgi, the second king of the IIIrd Dynasty of Ur, about 2250 B.C. After him it was left to decay and be buried in driven sand, until it was disinterred in our own days and the triumphs of the art of Aannipadda were transferred to London.

Near the temple a cemetery was explored, in which pottery was found which was evidently of an earlier period than any of which the chronology had hitherto been fixed. As will be seen later, it has now found its place in a sequence which has been established for Mesopotamia, and very near the beginning of it, closely connected with the Flood, which left so deep a mark on Sumerian traditions, and of which evident traces were found at Ur.

It was at Ur itself that Mr Woolley's main work was done. After a preliminary season devoted to ascertaining the boundaries and general layout of the entire temple enclosure, in which stood the ziggurat and a whole complex of buildings and courtyards of various dates, the first task of the excavators was the great ziggurat itself. The ziggurat is the characteristic building of Babylonia, as the pyramid is of ancient Egypt. Both are due to the desire to create an artificial mountain in a flat land; but whereas the pyramid is the tomb of a king, the ziggurat is the shrine of a god. Its essence is a series of terraces, recessed upwards, connected by staircases, and crowned by the shrine. The number of stages might vary. The greatest, no doubt, was that of Babylon, which Herodotus describes thus:

> In the middle of the precinct [of Zeus Belus] there was a tower of solid masonry, a furlong in length and breadth, upon which was raised a second tower, and on that a third, and so on up to eight. The ascent to the top is on the outside, by a path which winds round all the towers. When one is about half-way up one finds a resting-place and seats, where persons are wont to sit some time on their way to the summit. On the topmost tower there is a spacious temple, and inside the temple stands a couch of unusual size, richly adorned, with a golden table by its side. There is no statue of any kind set up in the place, nor is the chamber occupied of nights by anyone but a single native woman, who, as the Chaldæans, the priests of this god, affirm, is chosen for himself by the deity out of all the women of the land.[1]

But the ziggurat of Babylon was so completely ruined that its very site was forgotten. Loftus visited Babylon in 1852, and he refers to what is known to have been its site merely as "a lofty mound"; and Koldewey denied that it had ever possessed the series of stages described by Herodotus. Layard and other travellers looked to the mound of Birs-i-Nimrûd, some miles away, as representing the traditional Tower of Babel. No idea, therefore, could be obtained from Babylon of the structure and appearance of a ziggurat. That of Ur, on the other hand, ruined at the top though it is, is by far the best preserved in all Babylonia, and as now cleared it stands as one of the greatest historical monuments of the country (Plate XIV). It was a rectangle of about 200 by 150 feet, with its angles aligned, according to Babylonian custom, on the cardinal points of the compass. It stood on a great terrace, the retaining wall of which, on the side from which the ziggurat was most conspicuous (its north-east façade), was formed by a colonnade which itself was one side of a large, open courtyard. On three sides the walls rose, slightly sloping inwards, to the first terrace of the ziggurat proper; but on the north-east façade were three converging stairways, one projecting at right angles to the side of the

[1] Herodotus, i, 181 (Rawlinson's translation).

ziggurat, the others sloping up its side, and all converging to meet at the level of the second terrace, from which small staircases led down to the first terrace and up to the third, on which stood the shrine. The shrine itself has disappeared, but the blue-glazed bricks with which it was coated remain in large numbers. The stage below was similarly faced with red-glazed bricks, while the lower stages were covered with black bitumen.

A visitor, therefore, looking from the great courtyard mentioned above, saw first the white pillared retaining wall, then the black of the two lower stages of the ziggurat, next the red of the third stage, and finally the blue of the god's shrine.[1] In front, on the side facing him, were the three great converging stairways, with projecting structures filling parts of the angles between them. The successive terraces varied in their proportions, the shrine at the top being approximately square. The walls sloped inwards, and their surfaces were broken by shallow, flat buttresses. Their ground lines were slightly curved, to add to the sense of strength and support for the structure above. The building, therefore, was by no means monotonous, and demanded great architectural skill; and it has been suggested by Sir Leonard Woolley that the terraces were planted with trees, which would add to the beauty of the whole.

Such was the great building which dominated Ur in the days when Abraham lived there. As here described, it was the work of Ur-nammu (the name is also sometimes read as Ur-engur), the first king of the IIIrd Dynasty of Ur, about 2270 B.C., building over a smaller ziggurat which existed there previously. Much later, when the glory of Ur had long departed, the last king of Babylon, Nabonidus, enclosed the ziggurat of Ur-nammu (then probably ruinous) in a new building of his own, which (according to Sir Leonard Woolley's definitive publication[2])

[1] This arrangement of colours recalls the colour-scheme of the battlements of the seven concentric walls of Ecbatana, as described by Herodotus (i, 98)—white, black, red, blue, orange, silver, gold.

[2] *Ur Excavations*, vol. v, "The Ziggurat and its Surroundings" (1939).

rose to a height of seven stages, on the last of which stood the blue-glazed shrine of the god, perhaps with a golden dome. Little of this, however, remains; and it is the ziggurat of Ur-nammu that interests us most, as having been there in the time of Abraham and at the period of Ur's greatest splendour.

Elsewhere within the main enclosure other buildings were uncovered, mostly temples with their attendant offices of various periods from the IIIrd Dynasty down to Nabonidus, grandson of Nebuchadrezzar; but in one case a quarter of residential buildings of the time of Abraham was cleared with walls still standing to a height of eight or nine feet. These were substantial buildings, presenting blank walls (except for a doorway) to the street, and consisting inside of an open courtyard, surrounded by rooms on two storeys, the upper storey being reached by stairs leading to a timber gallery overhanging the court, out of which the rooms opened. As the explorers remarked, both in ground-plan and in elevation the house of a well-to-do citizen of Ur in the days of Abraham was almost the counterpart of the house of a well-to-do citizen of modern Baghdad.

In the course of these excavations, which occupied several seasons, a number of interesting carved reliefs were found, and a large archive of temple accounts; but on these there is no space to dwell. The most sensational results were reached in the excavation of a cemetery occupying the south-east corner of the temple enclosure, where work was begun at the end of the season of 1926–27, and continued in the following year. The later graves in this cemetery were of the Sargonid period, early in the third millennium B.C., but there were other graves earlier than these, which cannot be later than the Ist Dynasty, and by some would be placed earlier. Some of them were evidently royal tombs, and included a wealth of objects in gold, silver, and less precious materials which revealed a totally unknown period of artistic achievement of very

high quality. Among them was a gold helmet, bearing the name Mes-kalam-dug; gold axes and adzes, goblets and cups of various shapes, harps with bulls' heads in gold with beards of lapis lazuli; carved plaques of shell with animal figures; and, most marvellous of all, an object of which the use is obscure, consisting of two panels of wood, inclined to each other at a slight angle and joined with wooden ends, the whole covered with bitumen, in which are set mosaics of shell, coloured stone, and lapis lazuli, depicting on the one side the king at war, with his chariots, his heavy infantry, his light troops, his prisoners, and his slain foes, and on the other the king banqueting with his court, and with the food for the banquet being brought up on the backs of donkeys or carried by men (Plate XV). These are truly wonderful representations of the life of the fourth millennium; and the cups, harps, weapons, thus depicted on the 'Standard' (as it has been agreed to call the object, for want of a better name) are precisely those actually found in the graves. The conservation of these marvellous mosaics was an even greater feat than the discovery of them, for the slightest imprudence or rough handling would have thrown them into irretrievable confusion; and the luck of the division gave this unique object to the British Museum, where it may be seen with the other articles or (when the originals were allotted to Baghdad or Philadelphia) replicas of them.

A sinister feature of this brilliant early civilization was revealed by the evidence of human sacrifice in connexion with royal burials. Two great grave-pits were found, consisting of one or more masonry chambers in which lay the body of the king or queen, and an outer chamber filled with the bodies of attendants, and of the oxen or asses that had drawn the chariot or sledge on which the royal corpse had lain. In one which appeared to be a king's grave there were fifty-nine bodies. At the foot of the slope by which the funeral *cortège* had entered lay six soldiers wearing large copper helmets and carrying two

spears apiece. Next to them were the remains of two wagons, each drawn by three oxen, which were lying in position with drivers and grooms beside them. Against the wall of the tomb chamber were the bodies of nine women, with elaborate headdresses of gold, gold earrings, wreaths, necklaces, and other adornments—presumably the ladies of the harem. Elsewhere in the outer chamber were other women, presumably attendants, and menservants or soldiers armed with daggers—all ranged in regular order.

Among the other objects in the grave were a gold bull's head with lapis lazuli beard and a pectoral of carved shell plaques—no doubt the frontal of a harp—a gaming-board of shell plaques set in lapis lazuli, and a silver boat. All these were objects which had escaped notice when the grave was plundered, as it evidently had been in very ancient times. The queen's grave, on the other hand, was untouched. Here the funeral sledge had been drawn by asses; the ring through which the reins had passed was surmounted by a charming little electrum figure of a donkey, as a sort of mascot, corresponding to a copper bull on the rein-ring of the king's chariot. Five men, unarmed, lay at the foot of the entrance slope; then the sledge-chariot with its asses and grooms; then two rows of women with elaborate headdresses and a harpist with her harp. Other bodies, male and female, lay in the chamber, with many scores of objects—gold cups, rings, and other ornaments in silver, copper, and semi-precious stones. The queen's body lay on a wooden bier, apparently without a coffin. Her headdress was even more elaborate than those of her attendants, with no fewer than four wreaths of gold leaves, gold rings, lapis and carnelian beads, and a large, upstanding comb. The whole headdress (the dimensions of which showed that it had been worn over a wig) could be accurately reproduced. The body had evidently been covered with a cloak, which had perished, but had left a mass of gold and stone beads lying in position. The cloak was fastened at the right shoulder

by gold pins with large lapis cylinder seals, one of which bore the queen's name, "The Lady Shubad." She wore rings of gold and garters of beads, and by her side lay another diadem composed of thousands of minute lapis beads, which evidently had been sewn on to a backing of leather or some such material, and to which gold ornaments were attached. In the case of all these objects the original arrangement was minutely observed and recorded, and it has been possible to restore them to their original appearance. The whole constitutes a discovery comparable in character to that of the tomb of Tutankhamen, and exceeding it in historic importance as revealing a totally unknown chapter of art history of very remote antiquity.

In the following season of 1928–29 more royal tombs were discovered, one of which was accompanied by a death-chamber of forty bodies, and another with seventy-four. All had been plundered, but very imperfectly. Quantities of pottery were found, also headdresses and personal ornaments, no fewer than four harps, and, most remarkable of all, two statuettes of goats standing on their hind-legs against trees to which their forelegs are attached by gold chains. The heads and legs are of gold, the fleece of white shell and lapis, the trees of gold. Exactly for what purpose they were intended is unknown. Among the other objects found at different times and places throughout the cemetery special mention should be made of the gold daggers with lapis handles, and in one case a most beautiful open-work sheath. Others were a little set of gold toilet instruments (tweezers, ear-scoop, etc.) in a gold case, and a tiny gold figure of a monkey seated on the top of a pin, quite in the style of a modern tie-pin.

In order to complete the history of the site, and to establish the true sequence of the various phases of civilization which followed one another upon it, a great section was cut in the early months of 1929 right through every level which showed signs of human occupation down to

virgin soil. This work was repeated at another point on the site in the following season, where the total depth of the excavation was about 62 feet. The various levels were marked by their own characteristic forms of pottery, which enable this stratification to be compared with that found on other sites. Low down in the digging came a style of pottery first found (as will be mentioned later) at a site named Jemdet Nasr, and hence technically known as Jemdet Nasr ware. This was already known to be of very early date. Below that came pottery of a type previously found in the cemetery adjoining the temple of El-Obeid. Below this again came a thick stratum, of clay in one part of the site, of sand in another, with no internal stratification and no sign of human life—beyond all question a water-laid stratum, some ten feet in thickness. The whole site must have been under water, either for a long period or in circumstances which caused a large deposit of silt in a short time. Below this level there were again signs of human occupation, with pottery corresponding to that of the earliest period in the El-Obeid cemetery, and then, only a little lower and below sea-level, stiff green clay which evidently marked the floor of the marsh to which the original settlers came, and below which no signs of human activity exist (Plate XV).

Here, then, we have a land occupied, on islands rising a little out of the general level of the swamp, by primitive settlers, which presently is overwhelmed by a flood to which no parallel can be found in the later history of the site. Yet all human life cannot have been destroyed in the region, for above the flood-level we find human activity being resumed on lines similar to and continuous with the civilization that existed before. This is proved by the sequence of the El-Obeid pottery, and is itself a proof that the depth of the water-laid stratum is not due to a long period of submersion, in which recollection of the earlier types of pottery would have been lost, but to the special character of the flood, depositing much matter in a short

time. Then (probably) comes the irruption of a new race, bringing in the Jemdet Nasr type of pottery, and much later we reach the remains of what we have been able to identify as the Ist Dynasty of Ur.

All this fits in with the Mesopotamian tradition of the great Deluge. Archæology has given us this tradition, alike in the form in which it is preserved in the earlier Sumerian literature, in that in which it was incorporated in the Gilgamish epic in Assyrian literature, and in the references made to it in the king-lists. The traditional chronology of the country is cut in sunder by a great cleft, a Deluge before which there are legendary dynasties of fabulous durations, and after which there are dynasties which become more and more historical. One cannot doubt that there must be some foundation in fact for a tradition which had fixed itself so deeply in the national consciousness; and here archæology with its other hand (or rather spade) has revealed physical facts in the site of the ancient city of Ur which furnish material confirmation of the tradition. It is in no way surprising that this tradition was carried by Abraham and his family from Ur, and in Palestine was recorded in the form in which it is familiar to us in the early chapters of Genesis. How far the facts observed on other sites in Babylonia can be equated with those observed at Ur is still uncertain; but the occurrence of a great flood is a fact in Babylonian tradition which cannot be ignored or minimized.

At the other end of the history of Ur another find seems to throw some light on the Bible narrative. Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon and father of Belshazzar, when threatened by discontent within and attack from without, gathered into Babylon the images of the gods of all the cities of his land, either to protect them or, more probably, to secure their assistance against his enemies. Only three cities refused, of which Ur was not one; and from Ur presumably came the image of the moon-god, Nannar or Sin, whom Nabonidus (a religious enthusiast)

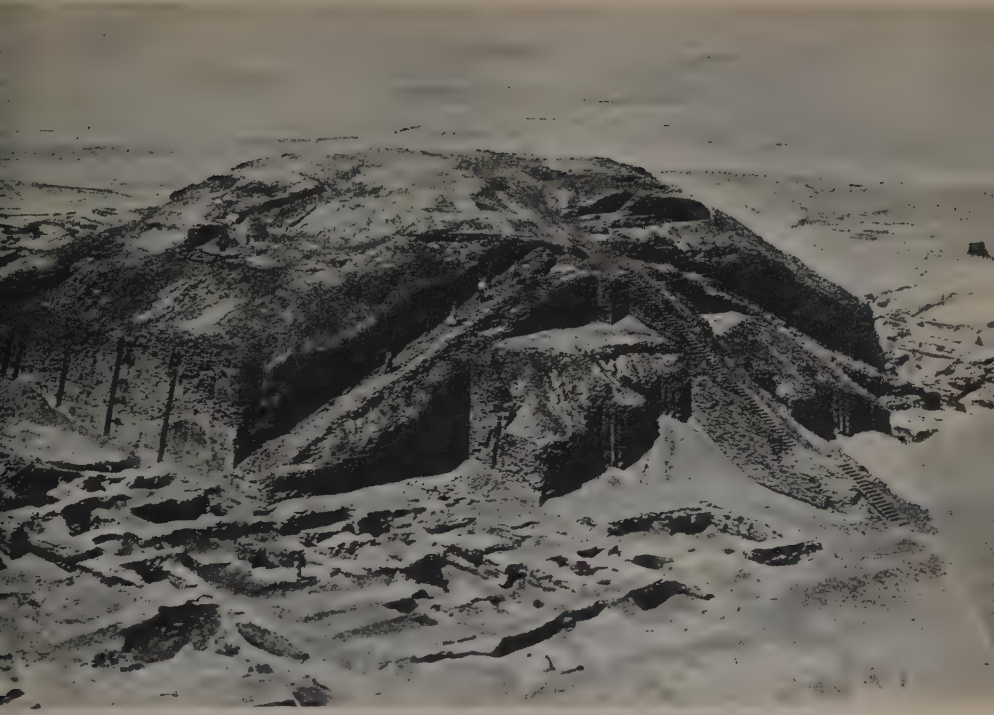
had especially cultivated, and to whom he had made his own daughter priestess. After Cyrus had defeated Nabonidus and taken Babylon one of his first acts was to restore all these gods to their own cities. Among these was the moon-god of Ur. One of the gates of the sacred enclosure was found by the excavators to have been repaired with bricks bearing the name of Cyrus. On a broken cylinder found there Cyrus says, "Sin [the moon-god], the illuminator of heaven and earth, with his favourable sign delivered into my hands the four quarters of the world, and I returned the gods to their shrines." And on the bricks of the repaired gateway he says, "The great gods have delivered all the lands into my hand, the land I have caused to dwell in a peaceful habitation." Does not this recall the proclamation recorded in 2 Chronicles xxxvi, 22, 23, and Ezra i, 2, 3: "The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth; and he hath charged me to build him an house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? His God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem"? Evidently Cyrus's concession to the Jews was not an isolated act. It was part of a policy of conciliation of his new subjects by showing favour to their religions. An act which, isolated, might seem strange, and the historical truth of which has been questioned, is now shown to fall into its natural place as part of a rational policy.

Kish and Jemdet Nasr

The success of the excavations at Ur naturally led archæologists in many countries to turn their eyes—or to turn them again—to Babylonia, and before long several other expeditions besides that of the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania were at work there. One of these was the Oxford-Chicago expedition to Kish, promoted by Professor Stephen Langdon, liberally helped by Mr H. Weld Blundell, and sponsored by the University

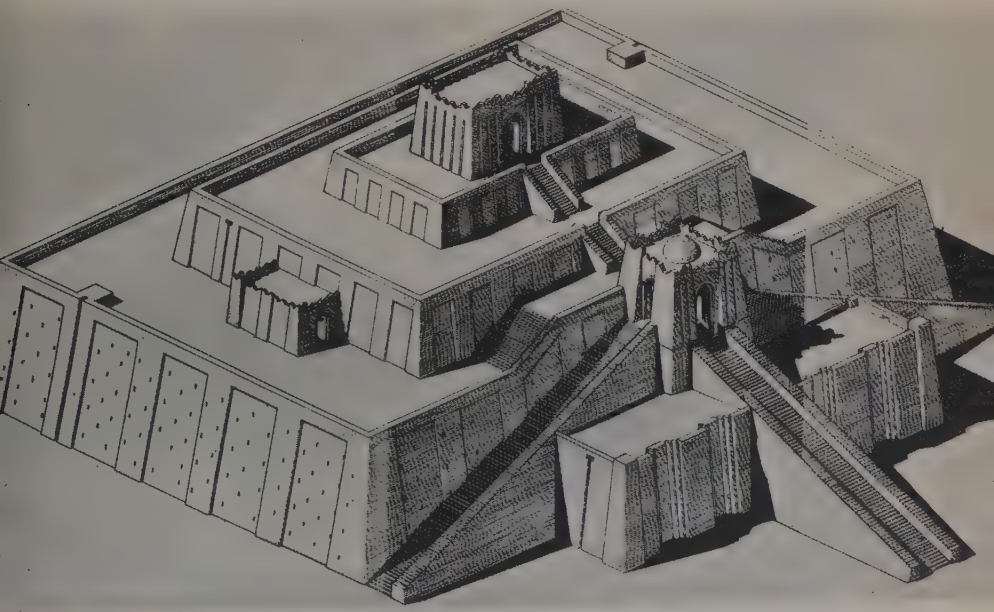
of Oxford and the Field Museum of Chicago. The actual excavations were conducted by Mr E. Mackay, sometimes by Professor Langdon himself, and subsequently by M. E. Watelin. Kish was traditionally the seat of the first post-diluvian dynasty, and very early finds might be expected there. It is a very large site, composed of a number of mounds, representing what was originally a double city, an eastern and a western, lying about eight miles east of Babylon. The Euphrates originally ran between the two cities. Work began there in 1922, and continued until 1926. Langdon's main object was avowedly tablets, and in this he was only moderately successful. One hoard of them was found, but in very bad condition. Nevertheless, the finds included such interesting objects as a tablet with what is probably the earliest form of pictographic script yet discovered in Babylonia, a bone stylus which for the first time showed how the cuneiform characters were produced, and a prism giving the entire Sumerian king-lists, both before and after the Flood, down to about 2000 B.C., which caused Langdon to make several alterations in the chronology adopted by him in the first volume of *The Cambridge Ancient History*. But so far it cannot be said that Kish has added much to our knowledge of Babylonian history or literature.

A subsidiary excavation, however (like Hall's at El-Obeid), added a new chapter to the history of early Mesopotamian art. This was at a small mound called Jemdet Nasr, about eighteen miles north-east of Kish, which Mackay investigated in 1926. Here he found quantities of a very distinctive kind of pottery, a polychrome ware with rather elaborate geometrical patterns in black and yellow on a red ground. This ware has since been found elsewhere, but 'Jemdet Nasr' has become the accepted name for it. It unquestionably marks a distinct stage in the cultural development of Mesopotamia, and possibly the incoming of a new ethnic strain. Stratigraphical researches, such as that already described at Ur,



THE ZIGGURAT AT UR

om "Ur Excavations" (published by the Trustees of the British Museum), vol. v



THE ZIGGURAT AT UR (RESTORED)

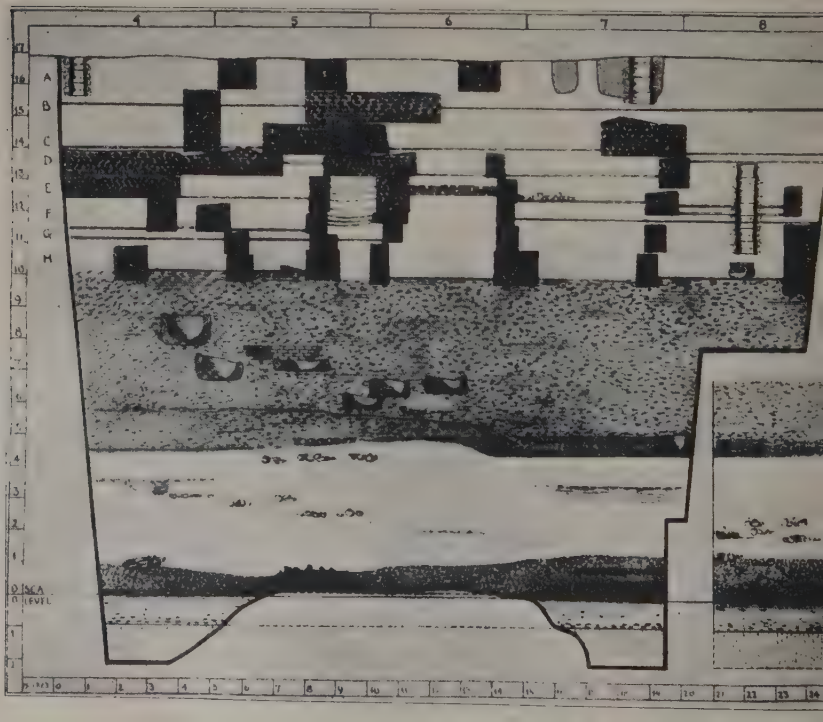
From "Ur Excavations" (published by the Trustees of the British Museum), vol. v

THE 'STANDARD' OF UR: THE KING AT WAR

From "Ur Excavations" (published by the Trustees of the British Museum), vol. iii

UR: SECTION FROM THE SURFACE TO ORIGINAL GROUND-LEVEL, SHOWING FLOOD DEPOSIT

From "The Antiquaries' Journal," vol. x



and others which have been undertaken at Kish, Warka (Erech), and elsewhere, have now fixed its relative chronological position—later than the wares found in the El-Obeid cemetery and than another type subsequently found at Erech, but before the earliest dynastic period. As a distinct period in the history of Babylonian art, and as a name which has taken a permanent place in Babylonian archæology, it has seemed well to make this brief reference to it, although it has no direct Biblical bearing.

Other Sites

Excavations have also been conducted at other Mesopotamian sites, which may be briefly mentioned, in order to complete the picture of the extension of our knowledge by modern research.

A prolific source of tablets was the mound of Abu Habbah, near Baghdad, the site of Sippar, one of the cities of early Sumerian tradition (see p. 115), though never the seat of a kingdom. In 1876 George Smith bought several hundreds of tablets which natives had found there; and in 1879, and again in 1881, Rassam visited the site and made some excavations, which are said to have produced over 60,000 tablets, all of a legal character (contracts, etc.). But this was only a part of the produce of the site; for the natives continued the excavations on their own account, and Abu Habbah was for some time the source from which the Baghdad dealers supplied the European market. In 1888 Budge bought large quantities of tablets from this source for the British Museum, and in 1890 he acquired some thousands more from Deir, which appears to have been a suburb of Sippar. But these again were contract tablets, and added nothing to our knowledge of Babylonian literature.

Some of the most thorough work done in Babylonia during the present century has been that of the German expeditions sent out by the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft.

The excavations conducted by Koldewey at Babylon and by Andrae at Ashur (Kalah Shergat) have already been mentioned. In 1912–13 J. Jordan and C. Preusser began work at Warka or Uruk, the site of the ancient Erech, and these excavations were continued in 1928 by Jordan and Andrae. They were very thorough in method, and were carried down to virgin soil, establishing a clear relative chronology for the successive periods revealed by the changing styles of pottery.[1] A distinctive style of pottery was established, intermediate between the El-Obeid and Jemdet Nasr periods (see p. 142). Two strata of flood deposits were noted, the relation of which to the Deluge which made so deep a mark in Sumerian tradition is still obscure. Very remarkable remains of walls and wall decorations were found, going back to about 3200 B.C. These include massive walls and columns of sun-dried brick covered with plaster, and ornamented with mosaic patterns, formed of clay nails with coloured heads driven into the plaster. (Some specimens of this technique had been found by Loftus in 1854.) At about the same date writing makes its appearance in the form of pictographic signs (amounting to some fifteen hundred in number), which become intelligible as a cuneiform script about three hundred years later. The lowest strata at Warka must go back far into the fourth millennium. Among the latest were thousands of clay tablets of the Neo-Babylonian period, mostly of a business character, but including some mathematical and astronomical texts, a fragment of the Gilgamish epic, and religious texts from the temple library. These come down as late as 70 B.C., showing how long the Babylonian tradition persisted.

Andrae was also concerned with some earlier excavations at Fara, believed to be the ancient Shuruppak (the city of the Flood in the Gilgamish epic), undertaken by himself and

[1] A good summary account by Andrae, with illustrations, is given in *Antiquity* (x (1936), 133–145), translated from a handbook of the Berlin State Museum.

E. Heinrich in 1902–3, supplemented by an investigation of the stratification by E. Schmidt in 1931. His report was that the site was only inhabited from the Jemdet Nasr period onwards, and that the Flood stratum *followed* the Jemdet Nasr period—*i.e.*, is later than the Flood stratum at Ur. Otherwise Fara does not seem to have contributed much new material, though it is useful to check and compare with the results from other sites.

Another valuable campaign was that of the University of Chicago in 1930–34, under the direction of Professor Henri Frankfort, at Tell Asmar and Khafaje, near Baghdad, the sites respectively of the ancient cities of Eshnunna and Akshak. Eshnunna does not make much show in history, but Akshak gave its name to a dynasty contemporary with Ur-nina of Lagash (about 3100 B.C.) and preceding the IVth Dynasty of Kish. Tell Asmar produced a succession of Akkadian houses, closely resembling modern Arab dwellings, a large harvest of cylinder seals, an Akkadian palace with a mass of copper implements, a considerable number of tablets (contracts, lists of workmen, etc.), a series of temples repeatedly rebuilt, starting from the Jemdet Nasr period, which seems to be that of the earliest occupation of the site; and, most sensational of all, a hoard of fourteen statues (half life-size or less) buried beneath the floor of a temple of the early dynastic period, in excellent preservation, and including two cult-figures of a god and goddess with enormous inlaid eyes. These are a most substantial addition to the monuments of early Sumerian art. A temple of the Akkadian period produced two remarkable cylinder-seals, one depicting a male hero destroying a seven-headed hydra (an exact anticipation of the Greek Heracles legend), and the other of unquestionable Indian character, with a procession of elephants, rhinoceroses, and crocodiles, to which parallels have been found in Sir John Marshall's excavations at Mohenjo-daro, in the Indus valley. This, with other objects of Indian origin, must have been imported in process of

trade from India to Mesopotamia, and serves to fix the date of this stage of civilization in north-west India to the middle of the third millennium.

Two other American excavations deserve to be mentioned. The more important of these was in the district of Kirkuk, east of the Tigris, especially at a place named Nuzi, for this has led to a resurrection almost comparable to that of the Hittites. The name of the Horites is barely known to readers of the Old Testament from brief mentions in Genesis xiv, 6, xxxvi, 20, 29, and Deuteronomy ii, 12, 22; even less known than it should be, since it is now believed that the name 'Hivite,' which occurs repeatedly in the catalogue of peoples whom the children of Israel should drive out, is generally, if not always, a mere scribal error for 'Horite.' The Horites are no doubt to be identified with the Hurri, who appear in Egyptian records, and recently have also made their appearance in documents from Boghaz-keui and Ras Shamra (see pp. 85, 155). From these they appear as an Indo-European people, with a language of their own, widely distributed over Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine; and the Nuzi excavations (begun in 1925, and conducted by E. Chiera and E. A. Speiser, to the latter of whom the publication is mostly due) [1] have revealed several hundreds of tablets, from which it can be learnt that they settled in that district about the middle of the second millennium B.C., and thence spread west and south-west into Syria. Little is known of their history, but they may have some ethnic connexion with the Mitannians, in Central Syria (see p. 151), and it seems probable that they were associated with the Hyksos invasion of Egypt. Their appearance in Palestine may be due to the reflux after the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt. It is in any case clear that they played a larger part in the movements of peoples in the second millennium than has hitherto been appreciated.

[1] *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, vols. vi (1925), xiii (1932), xvi (1935).

Farther north, at a site called Tepe Gawra, about twelve miles north of Kuyunjik, another expedition under Dr Speiser worked from 1931, methodically clearing it from top to bottom. The site was abandoned about the fourteenth century B.C., after having been occupied, according to the excavators, since the fifth millennium. The results, however, are of more importance for the history of Assyrian cultural development than for Biblical studies.

Kuyunjik itself was revisited by L. W. King in 1902–4, and by Campbell Thompson in 1904–5 and again in 1927–28. Much was done to clear up the topography of the huge site and to fix the position of the various palaces and temples on it. A particular object of search was the temple of Nabu, since references to the library of that temple occurred on a number of tablets previously found scattered over the site, and it was hoped to unearth the library itself with a wealth of Assyrian literature. The temple was duly located, but the library was not found. Either it lies elsewhere or its contents had been dispersed. The most striking individual object found was a prism of Esarhaddon describing his selection by his father Sennacherib to be his successor in preference to his elder brothers, and their consequent rebellion:[1]

> Thereafter my brothers went mad, and did everything which was wicked against gods and men, and plotted evil; drew also the sword in the midst of Nineveh godlessly; to exercise the kingship with each other they broke loose like young steers. Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bel, Nabu, Ishtar, looked with wrath on the deeds of the scoundrels which had been wrought against the will of the gods, nor did they help them, but brought their strength to weakness and humbled them beneath me. The people of Assyria, who had sworn the great oath of the great gods with oil and water to guard my fealty, went not to their aid. I, Esarhaddon, . . . speedily heard of their wicked deeds, and crying "Woe" rent my princely robe and uttered lamentation. Like a lion I roared, and my spirit was

[1] Campbell Thompson's translation, in *A Century of Exploration at Nineveh* (1929). For the full text see his *Prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashur-bani-pal* (1931).

> stirred. . . . [The gods] vouchsafed me a helpful oracle, thus: "Go, stay thyself not; we will march at thy side and destroy thine enemies."

This expands and illustrates the brief Biblical narrative (2 Kings xix, 36, 37):

> So Sennacherib king of Assyria departed, and went and returned and dwelt at Nineveh. And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him with the sword: and they escaped into the land of Ararat. And Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead.

Mr Campbell Thompson continued work at Kuyunjik in 1929–32, chiefly on the temple of Ishtar, where a magnificent copper head was discovered, which may have been dedicated by Ashur-nasir-pal, but is certainly of much earlier date, not later than the Akkadian period. It was presumably plunder brought from some southern site. In 1931–32 he was accompanied by Mr M. E. L. Mallowan, who had previously worked for several seasons under Woolley at Ur, and who now undertook the cutting of a great section, 90 feet deep, from top to bottom of the mound, in order to clear up the stratification. In the following year, to check and test these results, a similar section was cut by him on a small and undisturbed site, with only very early occupation, at Arpachiyah, a few miles away. These two sections provide most valuable data for a relative chronology of northern Mesopotamia, to set beside those already recorded in Babylonia, and also, as will be described in the next chapter, at Tell Halaf, in northern Syria.

Finally, Assyrian chronology has been materially helped by an excavation at Khorsabad, conducted by Frankfort on behalf of Chicago University in 1933, which produced a tablet with a complete list of the kings of Assyria, with the lengths of their reigns, going back to the third millennium.

The brief summary in this chapter will, it is hoped, have

given the reader some idea of the immense growth of knowledge with regard to Mesopotamian history that has come from archæological research. A hundred years ago practically nothing was known of Assyria or Babylonia except from the references to them in the Bible or in Greek literature. Fifty years ago much had been learnt about Assyria, but very little about Babylonia. Now, through a series of excavations, mostly within the present century and coming down to the present day, we have knowledge of the development of civilization and the arts in Lower Mesopotamia stretching back to the beginnings of human life in that region, with an extensive documentation in commercial, legal, and business records, and not a little in the way of literature. We have learnt much of the people from whom the Hebrews took their origin, and by whom the Hebrews were deeply affected throughout their history. Some of the particular points at which Babylonian history and literature impinge upon those of the Hebrews have been described in some detail; but the close association of Babylonia with Palestine may, it is hoped, have justified the attention devoted to what is in itself a fascinating chapter in the history of archæological research. The general results derived therefrom for Biblical studies will be summed up in a later chapter.

CHAPTER VII

SYRIA AND ADJOINING COUNTRIES

We have seen in the preceding chapters how archæology has enlarged and vivified our knowledge of the two great and often formidable neighbours of Israel—the kingdom of Egypt to the south, and the Mesopotamian powers, Babylonia and Assyria, away to the east. We have seen also that it has revealed to us a previously unsuspected empire to the north, that of the Hittites, with its centre first at Boghaz-keui and subsequently at Carchemish. But this still leaves large tracts to the north and east of Palestine to be accounted for; and on these too archæology has thrown much light, especially in the most recent years. It is as well to recall the general character of this country. Between the Mediterranean on the west and the lower valley of the Euphrates and Tigris on the east the habitable land forms a semicircular curve, with its open side towards the south, to which Professor J. H. Breasted was the first to give the name, since generally adopted, of the Fertile Crescent. It begins at the south of Palestine, where Asia joins Africa, runs northwards through Palestine and Syria to the angle where Syria joins Asia Minor, then curves across to the middle Euphrates about Carchemish, thence to the upper Tigris about Nineveh, and thence southwards down the course of the Tigris to the Persian Gulf. To the north are mountains, to the south the Arabian Desert, where no settled community could grow up; but round this Fertile Crescent man could, and did, live and flourish.

We have dealt with the eastern limb of the Crescent, formed by Assyria and Babylonia. We shall deal with the lower part of the western limb, Palestine, in the next chapter. In this we are concerned with the north-western section, comprising Syria and the country between the

middle Euphrates and the Khabur. When Abraham left his home at Ur he journeyed first up the eastern limb of the Crescent to Haran, which stands at the top of it; and from Haran to Hebron he moved down the western limb. In the country through and near which he passed the spade of the explorer has been busy, with results of great interest to the Bible student. It is of these results that we have to speak in the present chapter.

Tell Halaf

North-east of Palestine, the area which lies between the great curve of the middle Euphrates on the west and the Khabur on the east has left little mark in history, and until lately has been entirely ignored by the historian. It is only from Egyptian and Mesopotamian records that we have learned that at one time it was occupied by a people named Mitanni, of Indo-European origin, probably akin to the Hittites, of sufficient importance to enter into relations of war or matrimonial alliance with their powerful neighbours, the Egyptians, the Babylonians, and the Hittites. Among the Amarna letters (see p. 71) are several from Tushratta, king of Mitanni, to the great Amenhotep III, one of them announcing the sending of a daughter of the Mitannian king to be queen of Egypt, in consideration of which he intimates that a handsome gift of gold, such as Amenhotep had sent to Tushratta's father, would be very welcome. The kingdom of Mitanni was therefore of considerable importance. To the west, just across the Euphrates, lay Carchemish; in its centre was Haran; and to the east, just across a branch of the Khabur, was a city which has of late become well known to Oriental archæologists under its modern name of Tell Halaf.

The site was originally discovered in 1899 by Baron Max von Oppenheim, who, while travelling in the neighbourhood, got wind of the finding by natives of some remarkable

sculptures. Having (according to his own account) by somewhat Prussian methods ascertained the secret of the place of discovery, he made some examination of it, but not until 1911 was he able to attack it seriously. Then in the course of three seasons (1911–13) he succeeded in exhuming quantities of statues and bas-reliefs, in a style which could not be identified with either Mesopotamian or Hittite art, though with some affinities with both. Some of the spoil was transmitted to Berlin, but another shipload was captured at sea after the outbreak of the Great War, and was carried into Alexandria. There the antiquities were sold by order of the naval prize-court, and were bought by a local merchant. In order to save them for science, the British Museum purchased them and brought them to London. After the war von Oppenheim was given full access to them for publication, and nine-tenths of the objects were returned to him, a small section only being retained by the British Museum. Meanwhile on the outbreak of war a large number of statues, which there was no time to remove, were buried, and thereby escaped destruction when the Kemalist Turks occupied the place and wrecked the house built for the expedition. In 1927 von Oppenheim was able to return to the site and rescue the statues, and in 1929 he had another season's digging. The results of all his work are displayed in a special museum in Berlin.

The general result is to fill up another blank space on the map. The occupation of Tell Halaf goes back to the most remote antiquity. Von Oppenheim's operations had not furnished satisfactory evidence of stratification, but other sites (notably Mr Mallowan's great section at Arpachiyah) showed that the Tell Halaf pottery, which is of very fine quality, is even earlier than that of El-Obeid. According to Mr Mallowan's computations, it would go back to the beginning of the fourth millennium B.C. Dr Herzfeld also would put the oldest of the sculptures not later than 3400 B.C. At this period Tell Halaf (its

ancient name seems still to be undetermined) appears to have been the capital of at least a part of the kingdom known in early Babylonian texts as Subartu. These finds, therefore, afford a sample of Subaræan sculpture, both in the round and in bas-reliefs, from the middle of the fourth millennium to about the middle of the third (3400–2600 B.C., according to Herzfeld's dating). Among them are scenes drawn from the Gilgamish epic. About 1870 the town appears to have been destroyed, perhaps by Hittites or Mitannians, and thereafter was occupied by Mitannians. Tushratta, who has been mentioned above as king of Mitanni at the time of the Amarna letters, reigned there; but after his time decay set in, and Mitanni ceases to be of much importance. About the end of the thirteenth century it was overrun by an Aramæan (Arab) invasion from the south, and in the ninth century it was incorporated in the kingdom of Assyria.

It is disappointing that no early writings came to light in the excavations at Tell Halaf. Cuneiform texts appear on sculptures of the Aramæan period, and clay tablets after the Assyrian conquest; but all belong to the class of non-literary documents. What Tell Halaf has given us is a new chapter of art history—or two new chapters if the pottery and the sculptures are to be treated separately—and an assurance of the importance of a people whose very name was unknown half a century ago, and who occupied an area which was almost a blank on the map. But for the name of Haran (some fifty miles westwards from Tell Halaf), where Terah died and Abraham dwelt for a time, it is a country which hitherto has meant nothing, but now has a place of its own in history.

Ras Shamra

Far more important for our present purpose are the excavations which have become famous under the name of Ras Shamra. Not only do they bring us closer to Palestine

and nearer in time to the occupation of that country by the Israelites, but they throw far more light on the conditions from which Hebrew life and Hebrew thought grew to their unique distinction. These excavations are still going on, and final results have not yet been achieved; but a provisional account of them, based upon the admirable reports issued from time to time by the excavators, is essential for any statement of the present position of Biblical archæology.[1]

Ras Shamra lies in the north-west of Syria, near Latakia, south of the Orontes and of the bay of Alexandretta, which marks the angle between Syria and Asia Minor. Here, on a low hill commanding a small harbour which looks out westwards towards the projecting promontory of Cyprus known as the Karpas, was an ancient settlement to which attention was called by a chance discovery in 1929 (Plate XVI). Since that date a series of campaigns has been conducted by M. Claude Schaeffer which, though they have not yet uncovered the whole of the site, have penetrated to its depths and have revealed, at any rate in outline, the sequence of its history. The occupation of the site goes back to the remotest antiquity. In its lowest levels pottery has been found corresponding to that of Tell Halaf and El-Obeid, and of the same high standard as the former. The position of the town, with a harbour on the Mediterranean and a hinterland stretching back to Mesopotamia, laid it open to influences from every direction, and one of the interests of the site is to trace the varying balance of its associations with Babylonia, with Egypt, and with the islands of the Ægean and the Levant. In the earliest ages the connexion is mainly with Mesopotamia and with the Subaræan region described in the last section. It may have been here that Sargon of Agadé washed his weapons

[1] The following account is mainly based on *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit*, by Claude F. A. Schaeffer (British Academy Schweich Lectures for 1936) (1939), which provides the most convenient summary of results up to date, by the discoverer himself. Interim reports and many special articles have appeared in the periodical *Syria*.

in the waters of the Mediterranean. It may have been hence that he crossed to Cyprus, if he ever did so cross. But this is mere guessing, for no monument of him has yet been found.

The ethnic character of the earliest occupants of the site and its ancient name do not seem to have been determined; but in the latter part of the third millennium it seems to have been involved in the Amorite and Canaanite invasion from the south, which ultimately reached Babylon. Certainly when we reach the period of written records it is occupied by a Semitic people of the Amorite-Canaanite class, and its name is then revealed to us as Ugarit. By this name it is mentioned in a letter of Hammurabi, and thenceforward references to it occur in the records of Babylonia, of the Hittite kings, of Egypt, and notably in the Tell el-Amarna letters.

With the decline of the Ist Dynasty of Babylon the political orientation of Ugarit changes, and it falls under the influence of Egypt, then governed by the kings of the XIIth Dynasty. A statuette of the queen of Senusret II has been found there, and two sphinxes bearing the name of Amenemhat III, with other Egyptian monuments. At the same time evidence appears of trade relations with Minoan Crete. What happened at Ugarit during the time of the Hyksos domination in Egypt is uncertain. There is a change in the character of the pottery, and it is suggested that the Hurri or Horites, who were located in northern Syria, occupied the town and built a great earthen rampart round it. The Horites were akin to the Mitannians, and their influence in Ugarit is shown by the presence there of Horite-Sumerian dictionaries. Thus Ugarit was in the balance between Egypt and Mitanni, until Mitanni fell before the Hittites and left Ugarit wholly under the influence of Egypt.

This period and that which follows, the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries, are those of the greatest prosperity of Ugarit, and also those that are of chief interest for the

Bible student, for it is here that we make acquaintance with its literature, and with all that it has to tell us of the religion of its inhabitants. They also include the period when the Israelites were entering Palestine on the south, and beginning to establish themselves among Canaanites who were kinsmen of the inhabitants of Ugarit. The literature of Ras Shamra thus throws a strong light on the conditions among which the Israelites found themselves when they settled in Canaan, and deserves to be described at some length.

The library of Ugarit was found in a building, standing between the temples of Baal and Dagon, which was apparently occupied by the high priest. It consisted of clay tablets with cuneiform writing, but the cuneiform is for the most part not that of Babylonia (like the Tell el-Amarna tablets, for instance, written at about the same time and in much the same country), but an adaptation of the cuneiform characters to an alphabetic script, comprising twenty-nine signs. This is as yet the earliest alphabetic writing known, and is of itself a most remarkable discovery, the place of which in the history of writing will be considered later in connexion with the discoveries at Byblos, Lachish, the Sinai peninsula, and elsewhere. The Ras Shamra tablets accordingly presented a problem similar to that of the decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphs and Babylonian cuneiform, for neither the value of the signs nor the language to which they were applied was known. There was some presumption that the language was Semitic, but no certainty, considering the proximity of Indo-European dialects among the Hittites and Mitannians; and Semitic it in fact proved to be. This was first established by Professor Bauer, of Halle, who identified the names of certain gods; but the greater part of the work of decipherment has been carried out by the French scholars E. Dhorme and C. Virolleaud. The language is definitely Semitic, and may properly be described as proto-Phœnician or Canaanite.

The contents of the library are miscellaneous. As in the libraries of Nineveh, there are a number of Sumerian-Babylonian dictionaries, Sumerian being the ancient language of literature and sometimes of legal texts, while Babylonian (as the Amarna letters show) was the language of officialdom and also of commerce. There is also a dictionary of Sumerian and another tongue not yet identified. These dictionaries include word-lists in various categories—lists of ships of various kinds, lists of prices (which seem to have varied rather after the manner of German marks to-day), and the like. Other non-literary texts include medical and veterinary treatises (one of the latter, as M. Schaeffer informs us, includes a fig-plaister such as Isaiah prescribed for Hezekiah), legal texts, wills, letters (public and private), and treaties. Besides Sumerian, Hurrian, and Babylonian texts, the alphabetic Canaanite writings, and the unknown language of the dictionary, there are hieroglyphs on monuments from Egypt, Hittite characters on seals, and Cypriot on a silver vessel—a striking illustration of the variety of languages to be found in a commercial port and of the general and multifarious use of writing in the fifteenth century B.C.

But by far the greater number of the Ugarit tablets contain religious texts. Many of them bear notes to the effect that they were written when Nigmed was king of Ugarit. Exactly when he reigned is unknown, but it must have been about the middle of the second millennium. His name (which also appears as Nigmedash) is Indo-European rather than Semitic in form, and he may belong to the period of Hurrian or Mitannian predominance at Ugarit. If the mention of his name implies that he took a personal interest in the library, he would take precedence of Ashur-bani-pal as the first royal patron of libraries; but this is nowhere affirmed, and all that we know is that in his reign a college of priests was engaged in the transcription of religious texts, as had been the case in the cities of Sumer some centuries earlier.

M. Schaeffer calls attention to one group of texts which prescribe the pouring of libations into the earth, either in order to promote the fertility of the land or as a part of the cult of the dead. He connects these with the numerous examples of clay pipes found in the excavations, pierced with holes to allow the liquid to flow out into the earth —a species of ritual, no doubt, but also a primitive form of manuring. The vaults for the dead are also provided with pipes, or with large vases without bottoms, through which libations could be poured; and M. Schaeffer compares these latter with the legend of the Danaïdes, who, as a penalty for the murder of their husbands on their wedding-night, were condemned for ever to pour water into bottomless vases. This rather pointless penalty would, according to this suggestion, become a perpetual pouring of libations to their murdered spouses—a less inappropriate punishment.

To pass to the texts which, in a series of mythological stories, show us what the Canaanite religion was. The supreme God is El, the very name familiar in the Old Testament as one of the names of the God of Israel. Thus Jacob erects his altar (Gen. xxxiii, 20) to "El, the God of Israel." It also occurs frequently in the plural form, 'Elohim'; a plural which does not imply polytheism, but is a form of respect, such as is found in common parlance in some languages to-day. In the Ras Shamra texts El is the king, the supreme judge, the father of years. He reigns over all the other gods, and no one can change what El has determined. The land of Canaan is called "the whole land of El." All this, however, does not mean that the Canaanite religion was monotheistic. The supremacy of El is like that of Enlil in Sumer or Marduk at Babylon, and still more like that of Zeus in the Greek pantheon. He has a wife, Asherat, who is described as a sea-goddess, and whose name probably appears (in a plural form) in Exodus xxxiv, 13, Judges iii, 7, 1 Kings xviii, 19, 2 Kings xxiii, 4 (see the Revised Version; the

A.V. translation, "groves," is incorrect). In most of these passages Asherah or Asherim is associated with Baal or Baalim, who is very prominent in the Ras Shamra texts as the son of El and Asherat, the god of clouds and storms and thunder. El is often symbolized by the bull, which recalls the prominence of the bull in Sumerian and Assyrian sculpture and the form which Zeus took to court Europa. In this context it is perhaps significant that in one text Crete is said to be the seat of El's abode, and a recently published text claims for him supremacy over Caphtor (Crete), as well as over Egypt. He lives in a region to the west, known as "the fields f El." The existence of a Canaanite goddess Asherah had been conjectured previously, but scholars were not in agreement about it (see *Encyclopædia Biblica*, *s.v.* Asher); now it is definitely established.

Next to El, Baal is the most important of the gods of Ugarit, and he plays a very prominent part in the mythology recorded in the Ras Shamra literature. He is, indeed, more prominent than his father, and this readily accounts for his position as the protagonist against Jehovah, as it appears in the Hebrew records. He also has the form of a bull, and a statuette shows him with bull's horns on his helmet. Much of the literature is concerned with his adventures. He fights against Lotan, "the sinuous serpent, the mighty one with seven heads," whose name is probably the same as the Hebrew Leviathan, and whose seven heads recall the beast depicted on the seal from Tell Asmar described above (p. 145) and the beast with seven heads of Revelation. He had not originally a temple among the Canaanites, since one of the texts presents Asherat as interceding with El to allow the building of a temple to him, which is accordingly done, the gods themselves working at it; and at Ugarit the temple of Baal is one of the principal buildings of the city. Baal has a son, Aliyan or Aliyan-Baal; and it is very evident that between them they represent the gods of vegetation. They control

the rains, the underground springs, and the growth of plants; but every year they must fight with Mot, the god of the season of harvest. In the fight Baal roars and thunders, as in the spring rainy season in Syria; but eventually the heat of the sun prevails, Baal and Aliyan are slain, and Mot is victorious. But before he descends beneath the earth Aliyan has fertilized the cattle, thus preparing for the rebirth of life. Then Anat, Aliyan's sister, goes in search of his body, carries it up to a high mountain, and sacrifices many cattle to him; after which she implores Mot to restore her brother to life, and, when Mot refuses, seizes him, cuts him open with a sickle, winnows him, grinds him, and scatters the fragments over the fields—an obvious allegory of harvest. Then Baal and Aliyan are restored to life, and the cycle begins over again.

Another god whose temple has been found at Ras Shamra is Dagon, erected about the time of Hammurabi, who claimed descent from that god. He appears to have been introduced into Syria by the Amorites, and is known in the Old Testament as one of the principal gods of the Philistines. There is another temple, the dedication of which has not been ascertained.

Although Ugarit itself lies in the extreme north of Syria, its literature has relations with the extreme south. One set of tablets, of a more historical character than those hitherto described, deals with the adventures of Keret, king of the Sidonians, to whom El gives the command of a huge army, which is called "the army of the Negeb." The Negeb is the almost desert area in the extreme south of Palestine, beyond Beersheba, and Keret's mission was to meet and defeat some invaders who are called Terachites. Included in his army is the tribe of Aser, located much where the Biblical tribe of Asher was; and some would take this as an indication that there were Israelites left in Palestine when Jacob went down into Egypt, and that they were already settled there when Joshua led the return

from Egypt. However this may be, it is natural to see in the Terachites the descendants of Terah, the father of Abraham, and to identify them with the Israelites who were at this time (according to the now generally accepted chronology) occupying the Negeb during their forty years' wanderings. The story of Keret is romance rather than history, but may have an historical basis. Keret is very unwilling to undertake the mission; but El comforts him, and he marches against the Terachites. He repulses them, and receives gifts from the king of Edom to induce him to turn aside from "great Edom, the gift of El and the apple of his eye." Keret assents, and asks for the hand of Mesheb Hory, the king of Edom's granddaughter. The next tablets are mutilated, but the Terachites seem to have succeeded in establishing themselves in the land, and whole tribes of the Canaanites were forced to migrate, including the tribe of Aser.

When the Ras Shamra tablets were first being deciphered it was reported that the names of Adam and Eve had been found in them. This, however, has not been substantiated, but enough has been said to show that these texts have many points of contact with the books of the Pentateuch and Joshua. The extent of the connexion must not be exaggerated. There are no historical narratives which can be exactly equated with the Hebrew records, though there are allusions and indications which seem to harmonize with them. The main interest, however, lies in the fact that we have here for the first time a statement from their own side of the religion of the Canaanites, which has hitherto been known to us only through the hostile eyes of their enemies, the Israelites.

Here again one must be cautious in making deductions. There are some who say that the Ras Shamra texts show us approximately what the religion of the Israelites was when they entered Canaan, and that the representation of it in the books of the Pentateuch only reflects the views of a much later age, after the religion had been purified

by the reforms of the prophets and stereotyped by the priests. This seems to be going far beyond the evidence. It is admitted that the Ras Shamra texts, in their representations of ritual practice, give much reason to think that even those parts of the Pentateuch which, on grounds of literary analysis, appear to be the latest in composition, may well rest on very early records; and if this is so what has to be accounted for is not the occasional resemblances, but the vital and essential differences. It is argued, for example, that the prohibitions of certain practices in the Pentateuch imply that these practices had at one time been habitual among the Israelites. It may be so; but it is at least equally probable that they were practices prevalent among the Canaanites, which the Israelites might be tempted to follow. Thus, to take one small instance, one of the Ras Shamra texts, entitled "The Birth of the Beautiful and Gracious Gods," prescribes the rite of seething a kid in milk. Now, this rite, at any rate in the form of seething a kid in its mother's milk, is expressly forbidden in Exodus xxiii, 19, and xxxiv, 26. Are we entitled to assume that the lawgiver was prohibiting a practice in vogue among the Israelites, rather than that he was condemning a practice of the surrounding peoples? Looked at dispassionately, there is no sufficient evidence either way; but it certainly is unjustifiable to use it as a proof that the religious practices of the Israelites were substantially the same as those of the Canaanites.

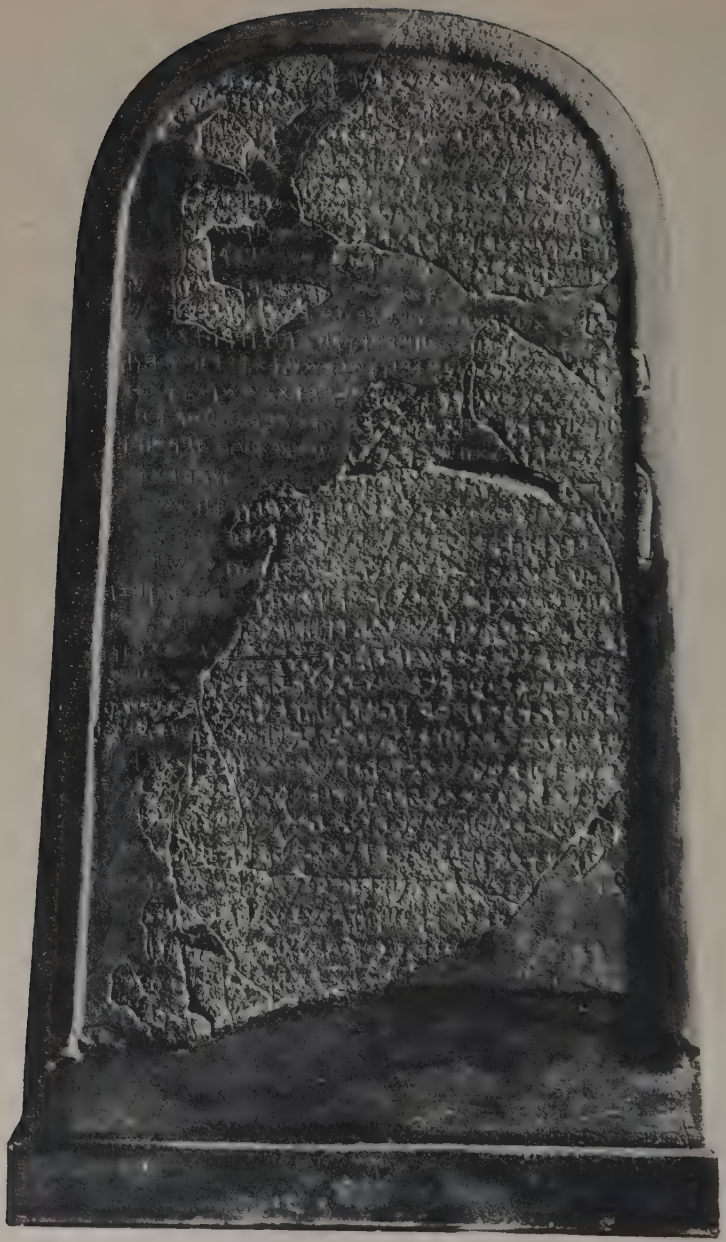
It is only natural that resemblances should be found in the customs and regulations of peoples living in similar conditions and in a similar stage of development; but here it is the differences that are more striking. There is nothing in the Hebrew record in the least like the multiplicity of gods, male and female, with their fights, their deaths and revivals, their contests with evil beasts. It is noteworthy that the Hebrew language does not contain a word for a female god, and thereby cuts away at once a whole large category of pagan myths. It may be said

RAS SHAMRA: GENERAL VIEW OF THE EXCAVATIONS

, limits of the mound. *A*, excavations at the north-east part of the mound, 1929–37.
B, excavations at the north-west part of the mound, 1937.

From "The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit," by kind permission of M. Claude Schaeffer and the British Academy

PLATE XVII



THE MOABITE STONE
Louvre. Photo Giraudon

that all this kind of thing has been purged away by revision in a later and purer age; but this is mere assumption. You cannot prove that a certain feature was present by saying that its absence proves that it has been emended away. The Ras Shamra religious texts may here and there throw the light of analogy on the Hebrew records; but their predominant merit is that they provide us with a picture from inside, and not from a hostile outside, of the beliefs and rituals of the peoples with whom Israel in its earliest stages was in closest contact. They also show many verbal parallels with the Hebrew literature.[1]

So much for the texts which have made the names of Ugarit and Ras Shamra famous among scholars. After the period to which they belong there is evidence that Ugarit continued to be a centre of commerce, and subject to cultural influences from various sides. Many objects found there are of Minoan and Mycenæan character, and have evidently been imported from the Ægean; and it is quite likely that Ægean artists were settled in the town. It is even suggested by M. Schaeffer that the celebrated paintings of 'Keftiu,' found in Egypt, who are unquestionably Cretans by race and bear Cretan objects, but who are closely accompanied by Syrian tributaries, may have come, not from Crete direct, but from a Cretan colony in Ugarit. It would be quite natural that such colonists should join in sending offerings to the Pharaoh, and Ugarit is much nearer to Egypt than Cnossos; but there is no proof to support this guess.

From the Tell el-Amarna letters we learn that calamity befel Ugarit in the first half of the fourteenth century. The king of Tyre reports to Amenhotep IV, "Ugarit, the king's town, has been destroyed by fire. Half the town has been burnt, the other half is no more." The state of the ruins suggests that the town was wrecked by an earth-

[1] See J. W. Jack, *The Ras Shamra Tablets* (Edinburgh, 1935); J. A. Montgomery, in *Record and Revelation*, edited by Dr H. Wheeler Robinson for the Society for Old Testament Study (Oxford, 1938), p. 17.

quake (which is so often accompanied by fire), and the port quarter may have suffered from a tidal wave. Such an event is, in fact, described in a poem among the Ras Shamra tablets. Others among the letters seem to indicate that Ugarit was obliged to submit to Hittite influence, but the excavations show no trace of actual Hittite occupation. An Ugarit contingent fought among the Hittite allies at the battle of Kadesh, where Rameses II gained a bare victory after narrowly escaping defeat; but after that battle Ugarit was certainly under Egyptian control, for the Hittite king expressly disclaims responsibility for a caravan which was destroyed by brigands in Ugarit territory. Culturally, however, Ugarit fell more and more under Mycenæan influence; its Canaanite art declines, and its Canaanite literature comes to an end, and is not replaced by any other literature. It was finally destroyed in the great invasion of the Sea Peoples which swept over Asia Minor and Syria about the beginning of the twelfth century (see p. 102). From this blow it never recovered, and thereafter, so far as the present evidence goes, the occupation of the site was sporadic and not important.

The excavations of Ras Shamra are by no means complete, and are still being continued, year after year, with most praiseworthy perseverance and scientific care. No one can say what further discoveries may be in store, but already the library of Nigmed has made a most precious contribution to the archæology of the Bible lands.

Other Sites (Tell Atchāna, Mari, etc.)

Tell Atchāna, a mound near the Orontes above Antioch, was explored in 1937 and 1938 by Sir Leonard Woolley on behalf of the British Museum. Lying about half-way between Alexandretta, on the north, and Ras Shamra, on the south, it is topographically subject to the same influences. It looks to the Ægean on the one hand, and to northern Syria and ultimately Mesopotamia on the other; and the

main reason for selecting it for exploration was to clear up the relations between Minoan Crete and the eastern mainland. Proof of such connexion came at once, for pottery of Late Minoan and Mycenæan character was found in considerable quantities. But there were other discoveries which link up with Ras Shamra and Amarna to elucidate the history of these north Syrian lands. The ancient name of the city appears to be Alalakh, and the ancient population was probably Hurrian (Horite) in character. In one of the earliest tablets found on the site there is mention of Hammurabi as king; and although it appears now that there were two or three minor Hammurabis in addition to the famous king of Babylon, it is probable that the latter is meant, and that Alalakh was then under his domination. About 1450 B.C. Alalakh appears in an Egyptian list, which suggests that Thothmes II was then its overlord; but soon after this date (probably when the Egyptian influence began to decline, as shown in the Amarna letters) it fell into the power of Mitanni. One of its rulers at this time was Nigmepa, whom it seems natural to identify with Nigmed of Ugarit (p. 157); and, as at Ugarit, so here, his name is associated with an archive of tablets. So far about three hundred tablets have been found at Atchāna, most of them in a building which appears to have been a palace. To a treaty with the king of the city-state of Tunip is appended the "seal of Nigmepa, king of the city-state Alalakh," which serves to date the hoard. So far no literary or religious texts have appeared, as at Ras Shamra; the tablets include treaties, word-lists, contracts, and other business documents. The characters are Babylonian cuneiform; the languages include Hittite and Akkadian, with dialectal variations and a frequent occurrence of Babylonian terms and Hurrian names. For our present purpose their chief importance is as another proof of the habitual use of writing in the lands adjoining Palestine in the middle of the second millennium B.C.

Soon after 1400 B.C. Alalakh seems to have been involved

in the Hittite invasion of north Syria, and the palace was destroyed. During the period of the Amarna letters (*c.* 1375–1350) it was under a Hittite ruler, and thereafter its importance declined. According to Sir Leonard Woolley, the highest level on the mound contains pottery of the fourteenth century; and after the thirteenth century it does not seem to have been occupied at all.

Coming farther south along the Syrian coast, French excavations at Byblos have yielded valuable evidence of the antiquity, not merely of writing, but of Hebrew writing. In 1922 P. Montet discovered a sarcophagus with an inscription of five lines in the Phœnician alphabet and an early form of the Hebrew language. This is at present the earliest example known of Hebrew writing, being some four hundred years older than the famous Moabite Stone, which so long held the primacy in this respect.[1] The sarcophagus is that prepared for Ahiram, king of Gebal (the ancient name of Byblos), by his son, and its date is generally assigned to the thirteenth century, though some would bring it down to about 1100. About a century later, in the narrative of a certain Wen-amon, sent by Rameses XII (*c.* 1115 B.C.) to buy timber from the king of

[1] The Moabite Stone was discovered in 1868 by the Rev. F. Klein, a German missionary, in the possession of Arabs at Dibon, in Moab, east of the Dead Sea. M. Clermont-Ganneau, a distinguished Orientalist attached to the French Consulate at Jerusalem, also heard of it, and managed to secure a squeeze of it through a young Arab. Further inquiries, however, made the Arabs uneasy, and by heating the stone and then throwing cold water on it they split it into several pieces. The greater part of the stone was ultimately secured by M. Clermont-Ganneau, and is now in the Louvre; the missing portions can be restored from the squeeze (Plate XVII). A cast may be seen in the British Museum.

The stone bears an inscription by Mesha, king of Moab, recording the oppression of his land by Omri, and his own successful revolt against Omri's son, as the result of which "Israel perished with an everlasting destruction. . . . And Chemosh said unto me, Go, take Nebo against Israel. And I went by night and fought against it from the break of dawn until noon. And I took it and slew the whole of it. . . . And I took thence the vessels of Yahweh and I dragged them before Chemosh." Further triumphs are also recorded. The Bible story (2 Kings i, 1; iii, 4 ff.) records the rebellion of Mesha, but follows it with the account of his disastrous defeat by Jehoram of Israel and Jehoshaphat of Judah.

Byblos, mention is incidentally made of the king's purchase of large quantities of papyrus from Egypt for writing purposes. It follows that, at any rate by the end of the twelfth century, papyrus was a common material for writing in Syria, and the Hebrew language and character were in use. This evidence has to be set by the side of that which we have already seen of the use of clay tablets and the Babylonian language. Both materials and several languages were evidently current in Syria in and before the twelfth century; but while the clay tablets have survived, papyrus documents (as practically everywhere outside Egypt) have not been able to resist the dampness of the soil.

This does not exhaust the discoveries at Byblos which bear upon the history of writing. In 1930 Professor Dunand discovered there an inscription on stone in a new form of hieroglyphic script. Subsequently he found a number of inscriptions on copper in the same writing. The total number of characters identified is over eighty. According to Dunand, the language is Semitic and the date not later than 2200 B.C., but fuller particulars are necessary before the bearings of this new evidence can be appreciated.

Another site which has yielded texts, not only commercial and official, but also religious and historical, is Mari, in the neighbourhood of the middle Euphrates, where excavations have been proceeding under the direction of M. André Parrot since 1933. It is a site which might be treated indifferently as Syrian or Mesopotamian, but it falls more naturally into connexion with Tell Halaf and Ras Shamra and Byblos. Here M. Parrot has found several hundreds of tablets, the decipherment of which has barely begun. From the brief reports hitherto published, however, it appears that, in addition to documents dealing with metal-working and other industrial matters, there are diplomatic, historical, and religious texts. Their date is about the beginning of the second millennium. Among the diplomatic documents occurs the name of a king of Byblos.

Ugarit and Cyprus and the country of the Keftiu are also mentioned; it remains to be seen whether the occurrence of the latter name in this context supports the suggestion that, when it appears on Egyptian monuments, it denotes a Minoan settlement on the Syrian coast rather than the inhabitants of Crete itself (see p. 163). The literary texts include writings in Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hurrian; and a temple has been found dedicated to Dagon, as well as others bearing the names of Babylonian deities, such as Ningal and Ninharsag. The publication of these religious texts will be awaited with interest.

Still farther in the debatable land between Syria and Mesopotamia is Chagar Bazar, lying on the route from Tell Halaf to Nineveh, where excavations were carried out by Mr Mallowan in 1934–35 and 1936.[1] Its highest level produced tablets of the time of the Ist Dynasty of Babylon, but apparently not of a literary character. The main interest of the dig was, as in the case of Mr Mallowan's previous work at Kuyunjik and Arpachiyah (p. 148), to ascertain the sequence of cultures back to the most remote age. Of the fifteen levels identified and labelled, the topmost five cover the period from about 1500 to 3000 B.C., the lowest of them corresponding to the Jemdet Nasr period (p. 142). Below this level there is a marked gap, after which the sequence continued for ten more levels, to which no date can be assigned. All that can be said is that level 12 has pottery corresponding to the late Tell Halaf ware, while level 15, the lowest of all, has ware of a type previously noted at Samarra. We are here wading in depths of remote antiquity, which have no other interest for our present purpose than as evidence of the way in which archæology is gradually establishing at least the outlines of the history of the Near East since the earliest appearance of man in the land of the great rivers.

[1] See Mr Mallowan's reports in *Iraq*, vols. iii (1936), iv (1937).

CHAPTER VIII

PALESTINE AND SINAI

It would be natural to suppose that Palestine itself would be the most fruitful field of exploration for the Biblical archæologist—that on or under the soil of Palestine it might be possible to discover the evidence for a reconstruction of the material civilization of the kings of Israel and Judah, if not of the judges and patriarchs who preceded them. The kingdom of David and Solomon, with all the wealth and magnificence associated especially with the latter name, can surely not have disappeared without a trace from Jerusalem, or the palaces of Ahab and Jeroboam II from Samaria. The land is full of traditional sites, shown to pilgrims and tourists from the fourth century downwards. What has the spade been able to reveal which will authenticate or disprove these attributions?

It must be admitted that the results on the whole have been disappointing. No Treasure of David (though often sought for, not only with spades, but with ciphers and divinations) has yet come to light to rival those of Tutankhamen or the rulers of Ur. It has not been possible to recover the ground-plans of the Temples of Solomon or of Nehemiah or of Herod. The palace of Solomon is unidentified, and those of Omri and Ahab at Samaria are questionable. Hardly an inscription has come to light which can be brought into any connexion with the Old Testament histories. Several sites have been identified, but the material remains found in them have been scanty. If we were dependent solely on the results of excavation we should have very little idea of the part played by the Hebrews in secular history and none at all of their contribution to the moral and intellectual culture of mankind.

The reasons for this are not far to seek. In the first

place, the outward, material importance of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah was less than we should gather from the books of Kings. Here archæology has helped us. It has enabled us to place Palestine in a truer perspective as part of the eastern world. Before the time of Saul it was a congeries of small tribes, not outwardly distinguishable from the Amorites, the Hurrians, the Moabites, the Edomites, and a score of other small peoples. After the time of Solomon it consisted of two small kingdoms, comparable possibly with those of Moab and Edom, but generally inferior to that of Syria, and entirely overshadowed by the great empires of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Hittites. To the sovereigns of those kingdoms Judah and Israel, though occasionally troublesome, were of small account. From the secular point of view the taunts of Rabshakeh were entirely justifiable:

> Behold, thou hast heard what the kings of Assyria have done to all lands, by destroying them utterly: and shalt thou be delivered? Have the gods of the nations delivered them, which my fathers have destroyed, Gozan, and Haran, and Rezeph, and the children of Eden which were in Telassar? Where is the king of Hamath, and the king of Arpad, and the king of the city of Sepharvaim, of Hena, and Ivvah? [1]

Were not Abanah and Pharpar, the rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel? Looking back down the vista of history, we can see that Egypt and Babylon were of small account compared with the contribution which the herdsman of Tekoa and the prophets of Jerusalem were making to the progress of humanity; but no contemporary could have seen this, and it made no mark on the material output of the two kingdoms, which is all that the explorer's spade can hope to find.

But even if the material productions of the cities of Palestine had been much greater than there is any reason to suppose them to have been, even in the time of the almost legendary magnificence of Solomon, they had little

[1] Isa. xxxvii, 11–13.

chance of surviving to be discovered in our own day. Few countries have been more completely plundered and devastated than Palestine. Solomon may have had all the wealth ascribed to him in 1 Kings x, but whatever remained after his own lavish expenditure was squandered by his successors. We read in 1 Kings xiv, 26, that Shishak, king of Egypt, "took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house," and "all the shields of gold which Solomon had made"; and not long afterwards (1 Kings xv, 18) Asa "took all the silver and the gold that were left in the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house," and sent them to Benhadad, king of Syria, as an inducement to him to make an alliance against Baasha of Israel. This was indeed the usual fate of all temporary accumulations of wealth. A small people could not long keep them; either they had to be used to buy assistance or they became the spoil of a conqueror. Thus Jehoash of Judah sent all the hallowed things of his predecessors, and all his own, and all the gold in the house of the Lord and in the king's house, to buy off Hazael of Syria (2 Kings xii, 18); Jehoash of Israel plundered all he could find in Jerusalem (2 Kings xiv, 14); Ahaz sent the silver and gold in the house of the Lord and the king's house (the usual formula) to induce Tiglath Pileser of Assyria to help him against Syria (2 Kings xvi, 8); and Hezekiah not only gave Sennacherib all that there was in the temple and palace treasuries, but cut off the gold from the doors and pillars of the temple (2 Kings xviii, 15, 16) to make up the amount of the penalty laid upon him for rebellion. There can hardly have been much left for Jehoahaz and Jehoiakim to give to Pharaoh (2 Kings xxiii, 33, 35); and after that came the complete plundering by Nebuchadrezzar (2 Kings xxiv, 13), and the final destruction by fire of temple and palace and all the principal houses alike, and the carrying off to Babylon of all the movable furniture (2 Kings xxv, 9–17). There can have been little left to show for the Jerusalem

of the kingdom of Judah, and not much for the Samaria of the kingdom of Israel.

Jerusalem rose from its destruction after the return from the Exile; but the buildings of Nehemiah were hasty and poor in comparison with the former splendours, and they would seem to have been obliterated by the extensive operations of Herod. Had Jerusalem then suffered only the fate of Nineveh and Babylon, and after being stormed by the Romans had been left to be buried under an accumulation of rubbish and sand, it might have been possible to recover some idea of its plan and the foundations of its principal buildings, though of minor objects, and especially of the precious metals, there would have been little chance. But the Roman vengeance on Jerusalem was more thorough than an ordinary conquest. Although the burning of the Temple in A.D. 70 was contrary to Titus's wishes, yet in the end, if Josephus is to be believed, "all the rest of the city [apart from a few towers, preserved as monuments] was so plained that they who had not seen it before would not believe that it had been ever inhabited." Finally, after the rising of the Jews under Bar-cochba had been suppressed by Severus in A.D. 135, Hadrian decided to obliterate even the memory of the Jewish city, and built over its site a new city with a new name, Ælia Capitolina, to which no Jew should be admitted. Truly the Word was fulfilled, which said, "There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down."

There is therefore no likelihood of finding much of ancient Jerusalem beyond substructures, drains, watercourses, and the like, and even these can only be searched for with extreme difficulty. The Temple area is covered by the great Dome of the Rock in the Haram enclosure, which cannot be touched. The rest of the city is thickly covered with buildings, with the exception of Ophel, the original City of David, lying outside the present walls on the south-east. Here some excavation has been carried

out, as will be described below. And if Jerusalem is thus unlikely to yield up much to excavation, there is no other site, except Samaria, which is likely to produce much, since no other city attained much importance in the days of the kingdoms. So far as exploration has proceeded hitherto, we may find something of Philistines and Amorites and Egyptians on the one hand, and of Herod and the Romans on the other, but very little of the Hebrews.

With this warning that not too much is to be expected, it is possible to proceed now to describe the course of archæological research in Palestine. It is not proposed to include any account of the medieval pilgrims who have left narratives of their 'Cook's tours' in the Holy Land, from the Empress Helena in 326 and the Bordeaux Pilgrim in 333, whose topographical details and identifications of sites provide more material for controversy than for certainty, and whose credulity and desire for edification do not accord with the critical spirit of modern science. It is necessary to come down to a date almost exactly a century ago, when scientific research entered Palestine in the person of Edward Robinson.

The first archæological exploration of Palestine was topographical, not excavational. It aimed at the identification of sites by a comparison of the extant literature with the surface indications. The conditions were not like those in Mesopotamia, where there was almost no evidence from ancient literature, and all had to be sought for underground. For Palestine there was available a quantity of ancient records, full of names of cities and localities, many of which had survived, or appeared to have survived, in modern nomenclature, and which could be tested on the spot by comparing the actual lie of the ground with the narratives of events said to have taken place in the neighbourhood. This was the task which Robinson set himself when he first came to Palestine in 1838. He was an American, who had been a teacher of Hebrew in Andover, Massachusetts. He knew his Bible

intimately, and with it in hand he wandered over the Holy Land, studying and recording the topographical data. He was inclined to accept identifications from similarity of names too easily, and, on the other hand, he was very sceptical as to traditional identifications of 'holy places'; but he did admirable pioneer work, and is the founder of scientific research in Palestine.

Robinson's first visit was in 1838, and his first publication of his results in 1841. He returned to Palestine in 1852, and at his death in 1863 he was engaged on his *Physical Geography of the Holy Land*, which appeared, uncompleted, in 1865. In that same year was founded the society which now for nearly three-quarters of a century has been continuously devoted to the study of the Holy Land, the Palestine Exploration Fund of London. A stimulus to its foundation, in addition to Robinson's work, had been given by the Frenchman, F. de Saulcy, who, after a first visit to Palestine in 1850, had returned thither in 1863 with a permit to excavate the site known as the Tombs of the Kings, just outside Jerusalem. They are in fact a group of post-Christian sepulchres, but de Saulcy was prepared to accept the tradition and assign them severally to the kings of Judah, from David downwards. He was allowed to remove some of the sarcophagi to the Louvre, and on one of them is the name of a "Queen Sadan," or "Sadah," in Semitic characters; but as the name is quite unknown it is of no assistance to identification.

The work of the Palestine Exploration Fund was from the first partly topographical and partly excavational. Reserving the latter work for treatment under the several sites, mention must be made of the surveys, first of Jerusalem and then of all Palestine, made under its auspices by a series of Royal Engineers officers—Charles Wilson (afterwards Sir Charles), C. R. Conder, Herbert Kitchener (afterwards Lord Kitchener), and Charles Warren (afterwards Sir Charles). These led up to a series of maps and relief plans, accompanied by detailed surveys of Western

and Eastern Palestine respectively, which up to the time of the Great War were the basis of topographical knowledge of the country. All this topographical work served as the foundation of what is up to now the *opus magnum* of Palestinian topography, Sir George Adam Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, which reached its twenty-fifth edition in 1931. But so much has been achieved by research in recent years that a new archæological survey is required. The project of such a survey had actually been taken up by the Palestine Exploration Fund and the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem (founded in 1922, when Palestine was reopened to exploration after the war), and preparations for the work were in hand when the outbreak of the recent unhappy troubles made field exploration impossible. When peace returns it is to be hoped that means will be forthcoming for the realization of this most desirable project—an archæological map of Palestine, based on the sheets of the official Ordnance Survey, and accompanied by explanatory memoirs, the material for which is already being collected.

So much having been said of surface exploration, it is now possible to proceed to some description of the results of excavation on the more important sites that have been taken in hand. And first, as of right, of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem

This was naturally the first place to which the thoughts of the Palestine Exploration Fund turned when they contemplated excavation, but the description given earlier in the chapter will have shown how difficult it was to work there, and how little likely it was that much would be found. The object was to identify the Holy Places, and since operations on the surface were impossible the method had to be that of tunnelling—a laborious process and also unsatisfactory, since small objects and the little indications which the soil gives to the expert excavator are almost

sure to be overlooked, and control of the workmen is difficult. The work was entrusted to Warren, who sank a deep shaft outside the Haram enclosure, and tunnelled up to its outer wall. The aspect of this shaft and tunnel has been commemorated ever since on the cover of the Fund's *Quarterly Statement* (now the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*). It revealed the enormous extent of the substructure of Herod's Temple, stretching down in places 120 feet below the present surface of the ground (no doubt much raised by the accumulation of rubbish since Herod's day); but nothing of the plan of the Temple was revealed, and still less anything of the Temples of Nehemiah or Solomon. Another tunnel investigated the viaduct which anciently led from the Temple enclosure across the Tyropœon valley to the western hill of Jerusalem (of which a part now appears in the guide-books under the name of Robinson's Arch). More important, and a real aid to the comprehension of the Old Testament narrative, was Warren's discovery of the shaft by which the ancient Jebusites obtained water. Jerusalem is naturally very deficient in water-supply. There are no springs on the hill; all water must be collected in cisterns or brought by aqueducts. The only perennial supply was the Virgin's Fountain, which lay outside the walls, near the bottom of the Kidron valley. The fortress walls were on the hill high above it, and the Jebusites had made it accessible by means of a horizontal tunnel driven back from the spring, leading to a vertical shaft which ultimately opened inside the walls. It was the existence of this tunnel which led to the capture of Jerusalem by David, as described in 2 Samuel v, 6–8, and 1 Chronicles xi, 4–7. The Hebrew text in the former passage is obscure; but the meaning appears to be that the Jebusites, secure behind huge walls that were impregnable against any force that David could bring against them, called out in mockery that the blind and the lame would suffice to keep him out. David therefore called for volunteers to make their way up by

the subterranean watercourse and to smite these blind and lame; whereupon Joab led a forlorn hope which scaled the shaft, surprised the guards, and admitted David and his men, thereby winning himself the command of David's army, in which capacity he was to prove so troublesome to his master.

Subsequent investigations carried the matter further. In 1894 the P.E.F. returned to the charge, and in excavations carried out over three years by Mr F. J. Bliss and Mr A. C. Dickie cleared up a good deal of the southern end of Mount Ophel, on which the Jebusite fort and subsequently the City of David stood. The great square tower which marked the southern end of the Jebusite fort at the point of the hill was discovered by M. Raymond Weill, digging for Baron E. de Rothschild in 1923–24. About this time the Government of Palestine offered Mount Ophel as a site for international investigation, separate portions of it being allotted to different nations. Nothing much came of the international scheme, except to relieve the British administration from any charge of favouring their own people; but the offer was taken up on behalf of Great Britain by the P.E.F., with the help of Sir Charles Marston, *The Daily Telegraph*, and the British Academy. The work was carried out first under the direction of Professor R. A. S. Macalister and later of the Rev. J. Garrow Duncan.

The part of the site attacked by the excavators was the northern end of the Jebusite town. Here they found a strong wall, which had been breached. The breach had been retrenched by a lighter wall at a short distance behind it, and subsequently a great square tower or pair of towers had been built to cover it. The interpretation given by Mr Macalister to these facts was that David had breached the wall in his assault (though it seems doubtful whether Joab's forlorn hope could have held off the defenders long enough for such an operation) and subsequently had covered the breach with a temporary light wall, and that

the large tower was the "Millo" (the word itself is said to mean "filling"), of which it is said that "Solomon built Millo, and closed up the breach of the city of David his father" (1 Kings xi, 27; *cf.* ix, 15, 24). (The mention of it in 2 Samuel v, 9, would be only as a topographical point known to the writer, but not actually existing at the time of which he is writing.) The identification cannot be regarded as certain, but it is at least plausible. The same excavations revealed portions of other walls—Jebusite (Plate XVIII), early Hebrew, and Maccabean—but nothing else that added much to our knowledge of the history of the place.

Solomon seems to have included the western hill (between the Tyropœon and Hinnom valleys) in the city, and to have united the two hills by a northern wall running across the higher ground at the head of the valleys, perhaps from the present Jaffa Gate eastwards to about the centre of the Haram enclosure. This enclosure, representing the site of Solomon's palace and Temple, projects farther to the north, and was only completely included within the city by the wall of Manasseh, the line of which is believed to be represented by the walls now existing.

What further extension of the city northwards there may have been is still a matter of dispute. In 1925 remains of a wall were found, running roughly parallel to the existing northern wall, about a quarter of a mile north of the Damascus Gate. This was partially excavated in 1925–27 by Dr E. L. Sukenik and Dr L. A. Meyer, who regarded it as the wall which Josephus (*Wars*, v, 4) records to have been begun by Herod Agrippa about A.D. 40 to enclose an extension of the city, but to have been stopped through the intervention of the Roman authorities, and to have been hurriedly resumed, though with much less strength than was originally contemplated, by the Jews in anticipation of the siege of A.D. 70. There is, however, some uncertainty about this, since elsewhere (*Antiquities*, xix, 7) Josephus speaks of Agrippa's work as a rebuilding of

THE JEBUSITE WALL OF JERUSALEM
the Palestine Exploration Fund's "Annual" (1923–25)

SAMARIA
Photo Kathleen Kenyon

IVORIES FROM AHAB'S PALACE AT SAMARIA

From "Early Ivories from Samaria," by J. W. and Grace M. Crowfoot (Palestine Exploration Fund)

an existing wall. Père Vincent would identify Agrippa's wall with the line of the present walls, and assigns the newly discovered wall to the time of the revolt of Bar Cochba in A.D. 132. Archæology may resolve this doubt some day, but has not yet done so.

One earlier discovery (made in 1880) must be mentioned, both for completeness' sake and for its own interest. It was not, however, due to archæological research, but to the accident of a native boy falling into the reservoir known as the Pool of Siloam, or rather into a rock-cut channel leading into it. On the wall of the channel he noticed cuttings that looked like letters, and had the sense to mention the fact to his master, a German architect named Schick. Mr Schick visited the spot, and found that there was indeed an inscription cut into the rock, eventually deciphered as being in Phœnician or early Hebrew characters, and translated as follows:

> Now this is the history of the excavation. While the excavators were still lifting up the pick, each towards his neighbour, and while there were yet three cubits to excavate, there was heard the voice of one man calling to his neighbour; for there was an excess of rock on the right hand [*i.e.*, the two tunnels, which were being dug from opposite ends, had passed one another, so that their ends were overlapping]. And when on the day of excavating the excavators had struck pick against pick, one against the other, the waters flowed from the spring to the Pool, a distance of 1200 cubits.[1]

Now this tunnel brings the water of the Virgin's Fountain (which, as we have seen, was the only natural spring near Jerusalem) into a reservoir within the walls of Jerusalem; and the accepted interpretation of the inscription is that it refers to the operations of Hezekiah, as recorded in the books of Kings and Chronicles. In 2 Chronicles xxxii, 2–4, it is said:

> When Hezekiah saw that Sennacherib was come, and that he was purposed to fight against Jerusalem, he took counsel

[1] Translation in A. H. Sayce's *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments* (1885), p. 87.

> with his princes and his mighty men to stop the waters of the fountains which were without the city; and they helped him. So there was gathered much people together, and they stopped all the fountains, and the brook that flowed through the midst of the land, saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come and find much water?

And later on, in the summary of Hezekiah's deeds (2 Chron. xxxii, 30): "This same Hezekiah also stopped the upper spring of the waters of Gihon [the Virgin's Fountain], and brought them straight down on the west side of the city of David." The reference by the author of the book of Kings (2 Kings xx, 20) is shorter: "Now the rest of the acts of Hezekiah, and all his might, and how he made the pool, and the conduit, and brought water into the city, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah." It was thus an achievement worthy of special note in the contemporary chronicles on which the author of the history relied; and indeed it was a notable stroke both of military tactics and of engineering. With an Assyrian invasion imminent, Hezekiah did not wish to leave his main water-supply at the mercy of his enemy; accordingly he set his people to work to cut a channel which would bring the waters of the spring to a reservoir within the city, at the same time blocking up the original access to them. Working from both ends, the two tunnels (which are by no means straight) surprisingly came to within a few feet of each other. There was a slight overlap, as may be seen to-day; but the two parties heard each other and broke through the dividing wall, and the channel was complete. Incidentally, the inscription was, until the discoveries of the present century, the oldest known specimen of Hebrew writing, with the exception of the Moabite Stone.[1]

So much for the modern exploration of Jerusalem. It is not proposed to discuss here the various attributions of the Holy Places, such as Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre.

[1] For the latest plan and description of the tunnel and its surroundings see *Jerusalem sous terre*, by H. V.[incent] (1911).

The sites assigned to them have not been discovered by archæology, and archæology has not much to say about them. They are matters of tradition, of topographical considerations, and of probability, as to which no certainty is likely to be obtained.

Samaria

Next in importance to Jerusalem, capital of the kingdom of Judah, comes Samaria, capital of the kingdom of Israel; but its history is shorter and of less significance. It begins with the selection of the site by Omri, about 880 B.C., to be the capital of his kingdom in place of Shechem and Tirzah, where the court had previously been placed since the revolt of Jeroboam. Shechem lay in the pass between the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim, in the neighbourhood of Nablus, and was badly placed for defence; and Tirzah, the site of which has not been certainly determined, was evidently never of much importance. Samaria, on the other hand, occupied one of the finest sites in Palestine, on a low hill set in the middle of a wide cup, bordered on all sides by mountains at a considerable distance, though with a distant view of the sea to the west (Plate XVIII). On this hill Omri set his town and guarded it with strong walls. It does not seem ever to have been taken by storm. Benhadad blockaded it, and nearly took it by starvation (2 Kings vi, 24–vii, 20), and Shalmaneser and Sargon besieged it for three years before the latter took it, presumably in the same way (2 Kings xvii, 5, 6). After that it was never strong until the time of Herod. It was taken by Alexander, and destroyed by Ptolemy I, and again by Demetrius Poliorcetes, and once more (and this time, according to Josephus, very thoroughly) by John Hyrcanus in 109 B.C. It was rebuilt by Gabinius in 57–55 B.C. (Josephus, *Ant.*, xiv, 5); but when Augustus gave the kingdom to Herod Samaria entered on a new period of magnificence, of which many traces remain in the ruins

which have been revealed by the excavators who have been at work on the site within the present century.

There have been two campaigns of excavation at Samaria. The first was one organized by Harvard University and conducted by Dr D. G. Lyon, and subsequently by Dr G. A. Reisner and Dr C. S. Fisher, in 1908–11. Their attention was naturally devoted mainly to the summit of the hill, where the more important buildings were likely to be found. Here two palaces of Israelite work were discovered, which were identified (without absolute proof) as the palaces of Omri and Ahab. The earlier building, for the erection of which the rock surface had been levelled, measured about 160 feet square, and consisted of a number of rooms arranged round open courts. Subsequently this building was extended westwards to cover almost double the space. The whole, including a tank which Reisner identified as the Pool of Samaria, in which the bloodstained chariot of Ahab was washed (1 Kings xxii, 38), was enclosed with a wall so broad and strong as to contain casemates in its thickness. Only the western portion of the summit was cleared by the Harvard expedition, and this included also the Augusteum or great temple of Augustus, built by Herod, which must have been the most conspicuous feature of Samaria in the time of our Lord. Here again the excavation was not complete, for much of the forecourt of the temple to the north was left untouched. The palaces of Omri and Ahab also must have been impressive buildings in their time. Their dimensions are on a scale comparable to that of the palaces of Nineveh, and their masonry is the finest of the Israelite period. Standing on a hill in the middle of a far-stretching plain, and emerging above the formidable walls of which some parts have been revealed by excavation, they must have been conspicuous far and wide as a sign of the power and wealth of the kingdom of Israel.

Minor objects were not plentiful in these excavations; but they included one important find, that of a number of

inscribed potsherds (ostraka). Broken pottery may seem to be an inconvenient form of writing material, but in fact it was extensively used in Egypt for this purpose, and in Palestine examples have been found, not only at Samaria, but also, as we shall see shortly, at Lachish and elsewhere. The Samarian ostraka are written in ink, in old Hebrew characters, and since they certainly belong to a time before the destruction and deportation in 722 they are a valuable contribution to our knowledge of early Hebrew palæography. Ostraka, as is natural from their nature, were not used for formal literary compositions (though examples are known from Egypt of short literary texts inscribed on them, probably in schools), but rather for private letters and records of business transactions, such as receipts and short accounts. The Samarian ostraka belong to this latter class, and provide some useful evidence on the economic details of life under the Israelite monarchy.

The Harvard expedition (the results of which were published by Reisner in 1924) had left the excavation of the site uncompleted—in fact, not much more than begun. After the war a second campaign was instituted in 1931. The initiative again came from Harvard, under the stimulus of Professor Kirsopp Lake, who himself was present during some parts of the field work; but this time Harvard was associated with the British Palestine Exploration Fund, the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and the British Academy, and the chief director in the field was Mr J. W. Crowfoot, then Director of the British School. The work continued until 1935 (with a blank interval in 1934), and although much still remains which it would be desirable to see excavated, it went far to determine the main topographical problems of Samaria, and to fix the principal stages in the history of its buildings.

The great northern wall, with the casemates in the thickness of it, was traced throughout its whole length, and a single line of inner wall was found close behind it.

The wall enclosing the summit was also traced on the west and south sides, and its eastern line located, though not dug out. There seem to have been towers at the angles. The casemated wall is later than the single wall, but not by much, and both belong to the early part of the Israelite period. One remarkable feature of the Israelite city is the number of large cisterns, which account for its ability to stand a long siege, for Samaria has no natural water-supply within its walls. In the Hellenistic period there was much additional building (as we have seen above, Samaria was repeatedly "destroyed" and rebuilt), including some round towers which Reisner had tentatively assigned to an earlier date; but this is of no special importance to our present purpose, and all must have been superseded before long by the great building enterprises of Herod. The clearance of the forecourt of the Augusteum was part of the work of the 1932 campaign. It then became evident that the natural surface of the hill had not sufficed for Herod's grandiose conception in honour of his patron. He had therefore built out a great platform at the north-west corner of the summit, projecting some 35 feet beyond the Hellenistic wall which previously formed the boundary. This platform was supported by a massive substructure, erected upon the *débris* of houses which could be dated, from the objects found in them, to the restoration of the city by Gabinius. This work is of interest, because it provides an exact parallel to Herod's work at Jerusalem. There also he greatly enlarged (indeed, nearly doubled) the area occupied by the Temples of Solomon and Nehemiah by an extension southwards of some 300 feet, composed of a platform supported in part on a series of vaulted corridors, familiar now to visitors to Jerusalem under the name of Solomon's Stables. At Samaria also there are remains of subterranean corridors, but these seem to have been later additions to the original work. At Jerusalem the vaulting supported a colonnade which formed the border of the platform above ground, and the original

Harvard expedition had suggested a similar arrangement at Samaria; but the later excavations seem to show that this is impossible, and that probably there was only a plain boundary wall.

It had been hoped that the new campaign would add to the number of Hebrew ostraka discovered by the Reisner expedition, and that possibly some inscriptions, which have hitherto been singularly lacking, would be brought to light. There was even a chance of finding the palace archives. These hopes were disappointed, only a very small number of inscribed potsherds being found; but in compensation one discovery of special interest was made. This was a number of carved ivories, found in 1932 on the top of the hill, in the neighbourhood of the Israelite buildings assigned by Reisner to Omri and Ahab. One or two such ivories were, in fact, found by Reisner in association with a vase fragment bearing the cartouche of the Egyptian king Osorkon (880–850 B.C.). The much more numerous ivories discovered by the Crowfoot expedition consist of plaques or small panels in relief, apparently intended to be attached to furniture. They include both figure and decorative subjects, most of them definitely Egyptian in character, others more akin to north Syrian work, with traces of the influence of Mesopotamia (see Plate XIX). Two small lions couchant, in the round, also recall Assyrian work.

The closest parallel to these objects is provided by some ivories found by Layard and Loftus at Nimrûd,[1] in a palace restored by Sargon II, which may even have been part of the loot brought by Sargon from Samaria; and by another find made by M. Thureau-Dangin at Arslan Tash, near Carchemish, in 1928, which were proved by an inscription to have formed part of a bed belonging to Hazael of Damascus, the contemporary of Jehu in the ninth century. This at once recalls the "beds of ivory" and the "houses of ivory" denounced by Amos (iii, 15, vi, 4), and the

[1] See R. D. Barnett, in *Iraq*, vol. ii (1935), Part 2.

"ivory house" of Ahab (1 Kings xxii, 39). Ivory objects are also included among the tribute paid by Hezekiah to Sennacherib, as recorded in a cuneiform inscription now in the British Museum. The elephant was plentiful in Syria and on the upper Euphrates in the second millennium B.C., though it became extinct before the middle of the first millennium, and ivory appears frequently in Assyrian records of plunder or tribute. Obviously a house could not be built of solid ivory, so that the term must indicate a building copiously decorated with ivory inlays, such as these. The soil in which most of them were found had been repeatedly turned over, so that Israelite, Hellenistic, and Roman objects were jumbled together; but a few of them were found in unmixed Israelite surroundings, and this dating is amply confirmed by the Nimrûd and Arslan Tash ivories. Further, on several of the ivories, from both Samaria and Arslan Tash, letters are inscribed (apparently furniture-makers' marks) in old Hebrew characters which on palæographical grounds can be assigned to the ninth century. It can therefore be concluded with safety that in these ivories we have some relics of the ivory palace of Ahab and Jezebel. It appears to have been destroyed by fire, since some of the plaques had themselves been charred, and they lay in a quantity of wood ashes. A full publication of them has been made by J. W. and Mrs Crowfoot (*Early Ivories from Samaria*, 1938).[1]

Jericho

In addition to the two capitals, there are two sites in the south of Palestine where important work has been done, Jericho and Lachish, and two in the north, Megiddo and Bethshan. In the south most of the work has been done by British expeditions, in the north by Americans. There

[1] The full report of the excavations is in preparation and may be expected shortly. The foregoing summary is derived from provisional reports, by J. W. Crowfoot and Kathleen Kenyon, in the Palestine Exploration Fund's *Quarterly Statement*.

is one site in the south which above all others would attract the archæologist—that of the Tombs of the Patriarchs at Hebron; but this is so protected by the sanctity attached to it by Moslem and Jew alike as to be unapproachable. It consists of an upper and a lower cave, and under the Turkish rule access even to the upper cave was forbidden, unless in so exceptional a case as the visit of King George V (then Prince George) and his brother in 1882. Since the war it has been possible for Christians to enter, though Jews are confined to prayers outside and to dropping written petitions through a hole in the rock. The upper compartment contains cenotaphs to which the names of Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Jacob, Rebecca, and Leah are attached; and these are supposed to cover the real tombs in the rock-hewn cavern below. It may be so; it is certainly a very ancient tradition, but it is impossible as yet to put it to the test.

Hebron being thus inaccessible, Jericho is probably the name best known in Southern Palestine. It lies in the low ground, covering the principal approach to Jerusalem from the Jordan valley, in a fertile soil but a terrible climate, 820 feet below sea-level. Fortunately the present village does not occupy the site of the Old Testament town (nor that of the New Testament town either), which is thus left open to excavation. In 1907–8 Dr Sellin dug there without much result, and the really important excavations have been those promoted by Sir Charles Marston and conducted by Professor J. Garstang from 1929 onwards. The results of these excavations, arrived at gradually and tested from various points of approach, may be summarized as follows. The earliest important fortification of the site was by a thick wall of large unbaked bricks, following in general the contours of the top of the mound. This is assigned to the end of what archæologists know as the Early Bronze Age or the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, about 2000 B.C. In the latter part of the Middle Bronze Age (about 1800–1600 B.C.) the city reached

the zenith of its prosperity, spreading down the hillsides, and being protected by a new fortification, consisting of a stone glacis with a ditch outside it and a brick parapet behind. This period corresponds to the rule of the Hyksos in Egypt, and the names of Hyksos kings are found stamped upon jar handles, with an Egyptian scarab datable to about 1800 B.C. The method of fortification with a glacis also corresponds to that of Hyksos forts elsewhere. This wall had been destroyed, presumably by the Egyptian kings after the expulsion of the Hyksos, and a new fortification was built, following in general the line of the first wall along the upper brink of the mound. This consisted of a double wall, the inner one 12 feet thick, the outer 6 feet, with an interval of 15 feet between them. There were buildings across the tops of them. This wall also had been violently destroyed. Masses of it had fallen down the slope, and all the ruins within the walls had been destroyed by fire, the evidences of which were of unusual intensity (Plate XX).

The chronology of the successive cities was established by the excavation of the cemetery, which yielded quantities of stratified pottery corresponding to the pottery in the city, and datable by means of objects found with it, especially Egyptian scarabs. Here the evidence for the final destruction of the city seems to be very clear. The series of scarabs, 170 in number, ends with the reign of Amenhotep III (about 1411–1375), and there is nothing else to suggest a later date. It would appear, therefore, that the more restricted city which followed that of the Hyksos age was violently destroyed and burned at a date somewhere about 1400. Thereafter it remained desolate for a long time. There are signs of a small occupation of a portion of the site by a north Syrian garrison about 1200 B.C., but there was no general rebuilding until about 900, after which it continued to be occupied, though not on an extensive scale, until the Byzantine period.

Now see how this corresponds with the Bible narrative

in Joshua ii and vi. The houses on the top of the double wall remind us of the house of Rahab, which "was upon the town wall, and she dwelt upon the wall." The wall was destroyed by some violent convulsion; archæology cannot tell us how that convulsion was caused, but Jericho is in an earthquake area, and the walls of a besieged town have been known to be overthrown by earthquakes, as at Jellalabad in 1842. The town also had been burned with fire, as it is recorded to have been by Joshua. It was then laid under a curse; and it so remained until the time of Ahab, in whose days

> did Hiel the Bethelite build Jericho: he laid the foundation thereof with the loss of Abiram his firstborn, and set up the gates thereof with the loss of his youngest son Segub, according to the word of the Lord, which he spake by the hand of Joshua the son of Nun.[1]

It will not be denied that, if the conclusions of the excavator are to be accepted (and Professor Garstang's statement of the evidence and his deductions from it have been confirmed by other experts), there is here a very remarkable correspondence with the Old Testament narrative.

One important consequence for Old Testament chronology will be noticed. If a date about 1400 B.C. is accepted for the fall of Jericho it carries with it the earlier of the two dates suggested for the Exodus (see pp. 70, 74). The Israelites would have left Egypt about 1440, not in the reign of Merenptah, the successor of Rameses II. The Tell el-Amarna letters (p. 71) will then reflect the state of Palestine and Syria at the time of the invasion of Joshua, and the Habiru mentioned in them can hardly be other than the Hebrews. Further, the Ras Shamra tablets (p. 156) belong to the same period, and tell us much of the religious beliefs and practices of the inhabitants of Canaan among whom the Hebrews came.

It is right to mention one indication of archæology which appears less favourable to the trustworthiness of the Book

[1] 1 Kings xvi, 34.

of Joshua. It will be remembered that chapters vii and viii describe at great length the fighting against Ai and the eventual capture and destruction of that city. In 1935–36 excavations were conducted on the site which is believed to represent Ai (Et Tell) by a French expedition, the results of which are said by M. Dussaud to prove that the site was unoccupied from about 2000 to 1200, so that it must have been a ruin long before the Hebrews entered Palestine, whether the earlier or the later date for the Exodus be accepted; and this is said to be confirmed by the name Ai itself, which means "the ruin." It is, however, not certain that the identification of Et Tell with Ai is correct, and archæologists are by no means unanimous in their interpretation of the evidence. It is to be remembered also that the transference of a name from a ruined or abandoned site to another near by is a common phenomenon in Palestine. The matter must be left for the present as undetermined, but as deserving consideration.

Lachish

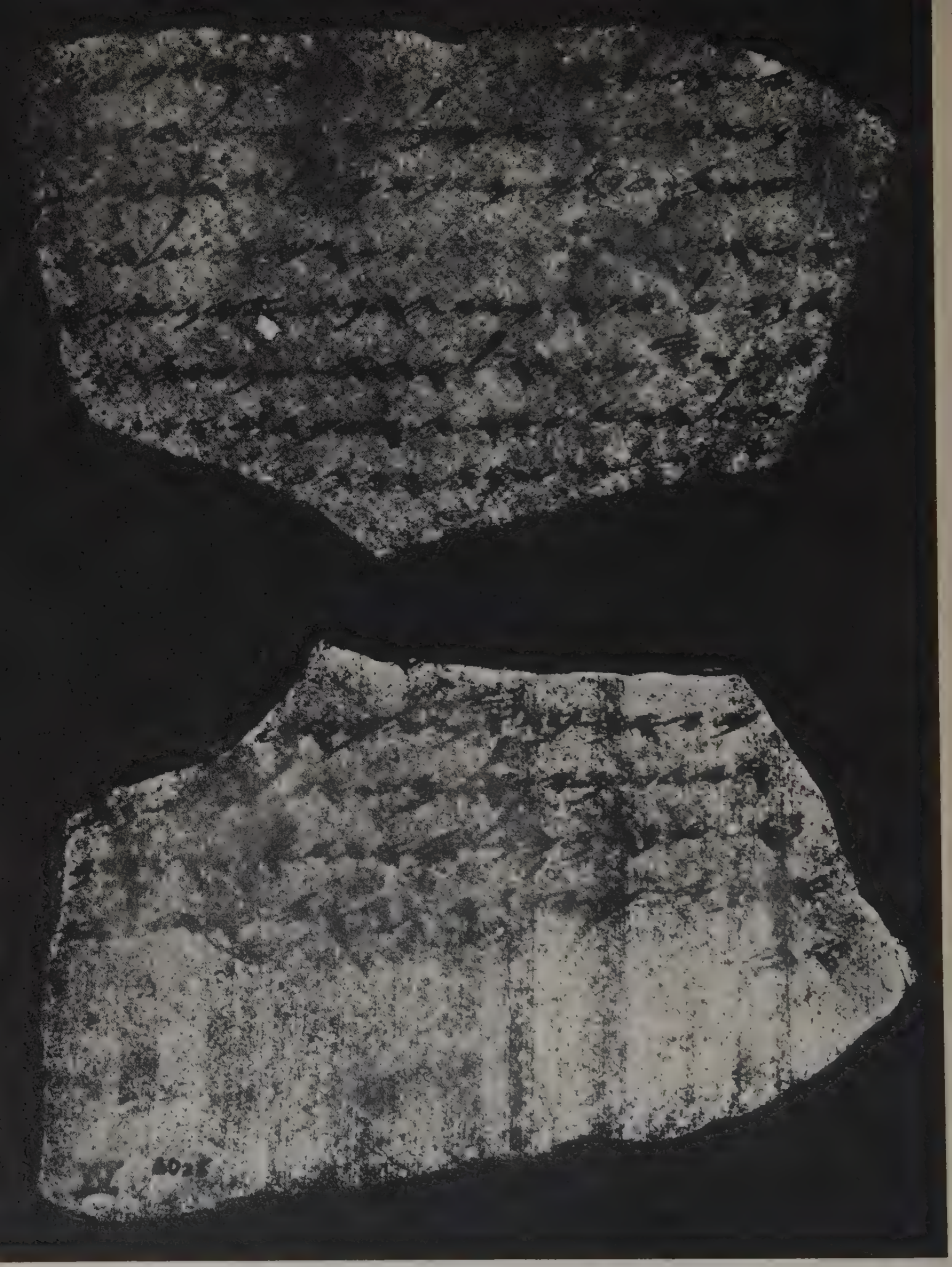
Lachish, chiefly known to readers of the Bible as the city which Sennacherib was besieging when he sent his officers to demand the surrender of Jerusalem, has had the unusual distinction of being twice dug up, in two different places. The first search for it was the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund. After its underground researches at Jerusalem and its great Survey and maps of Palestine the Fund in 1890 obtained a permit for excavation in the south-western district, on the line of communication between Palestine and Egypt. Here one of the principal towns to be looked for was Lachish, known from the accounts of the campaigns of Joshua, Sennacherib, and Nebuchadrezzar. The obvious claimant was a mound named Umm Lakis, from the similarity of name; but this proved on examination to be an instance of the phenomenon common in Palestine, to which allusion has just been made, of the transference of

JERICHO: THE FALLEN WALLS

Photo Professor J. Garstang

LACHISH: THE MOUND

R. Richmond Brown. By permission of the Trustees of the late Sir Henry Wellcome



LACHISH: LETTER IV

Photo S. W. Michieli. By permission of the Trustees of the late Sir Henry Wellcome

a name, after the destruction of its original holder, to a site subsequently occupied near by, which has itself eventually become a ruin. Umm Lakis turned out to be a late and unimportant site, and attention was naturally transferred to a very imposing mound a few miles away, called Tell el-Hesy, where 60 feet of *débris* were piled up on a mound itself rising some 60 feet above the plain. Here in 1890 Professor Flinders Petrie undertook a preliminary reconnaissance. A watercourse had in the course of time laid bare a flank of the mound, and by developing this clearance Petrie was able in a short season to ascertain the general stratification, and to report that the site had been occupied by a succession of cities from a date before the Hebrew conquest down into Hellenistic times. No certain evidence of identification was found, but it was accepted as probable, if not certain, that Tell el-Hesy was the site of Lachish.

Petrie's work was then taken up by Dr F. J. Bliss, who, working on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund, conducted systematic excavations from 1891 to 1893, clearing the north-east sector of the mound right down through its 60 feet of accumulated soil and *débris*, thereby exposing the occupation-levels of eight successive cities. Each city was planned and recorded before its removal to reach the next below, and the pottery and other objects gave a chronological sequence which could be linked up with the results from other sites. Lachish is mentioned more than once in the Tell el-Amarna letters, and a cuneiform tablet of the Amarna series was discovered in the *débris* of the third city; but in general less historical material was found than might have been hoped for. The name Lachish continued to be accepted for the site, but no additional evidence of identification was obtained.

There was, however, another conspicuous mound in the same district, Tell Duweir (Plate XX), which Bliss himself mentions as "a magnificent mound," the pre-Israelite depths of which he longed to penetrate. It lies, like Tell el-Hesy, on the route from Gaza to Hebron, but

some miles nearer to the latter; and Professor Albright pointed out that the distance from Beit Jibrin (the ancient Eleutheropolis), given by Eusebius and Jerome as seven miles, which was one of the arguments used by Petrie and Bliss for Tell el-Hesy as against Umm Lakis, told far more strongly in favour of Tell Duweir, since the latter is just seven miles from Beit Jibrin, while Tell el-Hesy is about twelve miles away. (If Tell el-Hesy is not Lachish it may be Eglon.) The question was therefore still open when in the season of 1932–33 the Wellcome Archæological Research Expedition, promoted by the late Sir Henry Wellcome and largely assisted by Sir Charles Marston, Sir Robert Mond, and Mr H. D. Colt, directed its attention to this part of Palestine.[1] "The object of the Expedition was primarily to trace the sources of the various foreign contacts which influenced the development of Palestinian culture in the early pre-Hellenistic periods," and, whether Tell Duweir was or was not Lachish, it was evidently an important site on the direct line between Palestine and Egypt. The work was under the direction of Mr J. L. Starkey, until his tragic murder by brigands on January 10, 1938, after which the work was carried on by Mr Charles Inge, with assistance from Mr L. Harding, formerly Starkey's chief assistant, who was lent from Transjordan, where he is Chief Inspector of Antiquities.

After a cave-dwellers' settlement in the Early Bronze Age (say about 2500 B.C.) the site was occupied by successive cities through the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, down to the destruction by Nebuchadrezzar. There is ample evidence of influence from the side of Egypt, as was only to be expected. In the Hyksos period (*c.* 1800–1600) it was strongly fortified in the characteristic Hyksos style with a fosse and sloping glacis. A low tunnel under the glacis perhaps shows how the city was captured by Egyptian

[1] The enterprise is now known as the Wellcome-Marston Expedition, and its continuance since Sir Henry Wellcome's death is largely due to Sir Charles Marston's support.

miners. Its period of greatest prosperity seems to have been under the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties of Egypt, when its suburbs extended for some distance outside the town walls. A specimen of the well-known lion-hunt scarab of Amenhotep III, on which the king commemorates his feat of killing 102 fierce lions with his own hand in the first ten years of his reign, was found amid the remains of a temple, built outside the walls on the filling of the Hyksos fosse, which appears to have been in use from his reign to that of Rameses II (*c.* 1400–1262). Under the Jewish monarchy Lachish must have been of less importance as a city, but it continued to be one of the principal fortresses, as appears from its siege by Sennacherib. It was enclosed by a double wall, connected by a double gatehouse. Just inside the city wall a great shaft was discovered 80 feet across and cut down through the rock to a depth of 80 feet, the object of which remains obscure, since it seems never to have been finished. The city came to a violent end, being twice destroyed by fire within a few years. These two destructions can naturally be connected with the two invasions of Nebuchadrezzar, in 597 and 588 B.C. In the account of the first invasion (2 Kings xxiv, 10–16) there is no specific mention of Lachish; but of the second it is recorded (Jer. xxxiv, 7) that "the king of Babylon's army fought against Jerusalem, and against all the cities of Judah that were left, against Lachish and against Azekah; for these alone remained of the cities of Judah as fenced cities." Between the two destructions the fortifications seem to have been somewhat summarily restored, and after the final capture there are remains of what seems to have been a governor's official residence in the Persian period, but from this point Lachish disappears from history.

The main interest of Lachish, however, for the Bible student lies not in its history as a fortess of Judah, but in certain objects found in the course of the excavations. The first of these was a tall water-vessel, since famous as

"the Tell Duweir ewer," about 2 feet in height, on the shoulder of which is inscribed a line of writing in early Phœnician or proto-Hebrew characters. They are akin to the inscriptions found at Serabit, in the Sinai Peninsula (see p. 202), and on two ostraka found respectively at Beth Shemesh (near Tell Duweir) and Gezer. Three other fragments of pottery with similar characters were subsequently discovered. Their interpretation has been the subject of much controversy, but their real importance lies in the fact that they are among the earliest examples of Hebrew writing, dating (as shown by the objects among which the ewer was found) to the first quarter of the thirteenth century B.C. Still earlier are four pictographic characters engraved on the blade of a Hyksos dagger, while the last season's work revealed a graffito (of what date is not stated) on the face of a stair giving the first five letters of the Hebrew alphabet, which is no doubt the earliest example of an alphabet written out as such.

Two other interesting objects are seals. One of them is a stone seal bearing the name "Shebna" in characters suitable to the age of Hezekiah, which recalls "Shebna the scribe" (*i.e.*, Secretary of State) of Isaiah xxxvi, 3, though proof of identity is impossible. The other is a clay seal, bearing on its back the impression of the fibres of the papyrus document to which it must have been once attached, and inscribed with the words "The property of Gedaliah who is over the house.". The title "over the house" (*i.e.*, Lord Chamberlain) is that borne by Eliakim in the above-quoted passage of Isaiah, and previously by Shebna (Isa. xxii, 15), whose supersession by Eliakim is foretold by the prophet; while the name Gedaliah is that of the governor of Judæa appointed by Nebuchadrezzar (Jer. xl, 5, 6), who had charge of Jeremiah, and who was treacherously murdered by Ishmael and his party of malcontent Jews (Jer. xli, 2). The date of the seal could not be fixed by the circumstances of its discovery, but in view of the date of the objects which remain to be mentioned it is quite reason-

able to suppose that it is actually an impression of the seal of the unfortunate governor.

The objects just referred to are a group of inscribed ostraka, eighteen in number, found in 1935 in the ashes of the final conflagration of 588 B.C. They were found in a room (perhaps a guard-room) of the double gatehouse, and proved, when the faint writing on them was deciphered, to be a number of letters, addressed to "my lord Ya'ush," presumably the military governor of the city, or at least an officer of importance (Plate XXI). Here is the text of one of them, which is given both as a sample of the style and for the significance of the final sentence: [1]

> May Yhwh [Yahweh, Jehovah] let my lord hear even now tidings of good. According to whatever my lord has sent, thus has thy slave done. I have written on the page according to whatever my lord has sent to me. And when my lord has sent about the sleeping house, there is nobody. And Semakh-yahu, him has Shema'yahu taken, and brought him up to the city, and thy slave, my lord, shall write thither, asking where he is: because if in his turning he had inspected, he would know that we are watching for the signal-stations of Lachish, according to all the signs which my lord gives, because we do not see Azekah.

The last sentence seems to clinch the proof that Tell Duweir is Lachish, since the writer, from some place outside, speaks of watching for the signals of Lachish, which his correspondent Ya'ush sends out. In one of the letters the name of the writer is given as Hosha'yahu, or Hoshaiah (a name that occurs in Jeremiah xlii, 1; xliii, 2), but whether all of them came from him is uncertain. They are in different hands, so that the actual scribes must have been different; on the other hand, five of them are written on pieces of the same pot, which indicates at least a partial community of origin. Professor Torczyner thinks that all come from a single writer, who was the officer in charge

[1] The translation is that of Professor H. Torczyner, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, to whom the publication of the letters was entrusted by the Wellcome Trustees (*Lachish*, I, "The Lachish Letters," 1938).

of a small station within signalling distance of Lachish, perhaps Kirjath-jearim. Others think differently, and it does not much matter. What is of more interest is the fact that several of the names mentioned in them occur in the contemporary writings of Jeremiah: Gemariah (xxix, 3, xxxvi, 10), Jaazaniah (xxxv, 3), Neriah (xxxii, 12), Elnathan (xxxvi, 12), Nedabiah, grandson of the king (perhaps this is Nedabiah, grandson of Jehoiakim in 1 Chronicles iii, 18), etc.

More intriguing still are the references in one of the letters to a prophet, called both "the open-eyed" (that is, "seer") and "the inspired one" ("prophet"), who was apparently in some trouble with the authorities. The language is extremely obscure:

> Thy slave has sent a letter to the open-eyed, and in it thy slave referred to the letter which my lord had sent to thy slave yesterday. . . . And to thy slave it has been told, saying, "Down went the commander of the army, Yikhbaryahu the son of Elnatan to come to Egypt," and he sent to bring Hodawyahu the son of Ahiyahu and his men from here. And a letter which Nedabyahu the grandson of the king had brought to Shallum the son of Yaddua from the prophet, saying, "Beware," has thy slave sent to my lord.

Professor Torczyner would interpret this with reference to the following passage in Jeremiah xxvi, 20–23:

> And there was also a man that prophesied in the name of the Lord, Uriah the son of Shemaiah of Kiriath-jearim; and he prophesied against this city and against this land according to all the words of Jeremiah. And when Jehoiakim the king, with all his mighty men, and all the princes, heard his words, the king sought to put him to death; but when Uriah heard it, he was afraid, and fled, and went into Egypt: and Jehoiakim the king sent men into Egypt, namely, Elnathan the son of Achbor, and certain men with him, into Egypt: and they fetched forth Uriah out of Egypt, and brought him unto Jehoiakim the king; who slew him with the sword.

There is certainly some temptation to see a connexion between the unnamed prophet and the mission to Egypt of Yikhbaryahu, son of Elnatan, in the letter, on the one

hand, and the prophet Uriah, whom Elnathan, son of Achbor, pursued into Egypt in the book of Jeremiah, on the other; but there is a good deal that has to be supplied by the imagination. There is also the definite objection that the affair of Uriah is said to have taken place in the reign of Jehoiakim, whereas the Lachish letters belong to the time of Zedekiah. Torczyner is, therefore, compelled to suppose that in Jeremiah xxvi the name of Jehoiakim has been (repeatedly) written instead of that of Zedekiah, and that Yikhbaryahu, son of Elnatan, is the same as Elnathan, son of Achbor. A hypothesis which rests on the assumption of several scribal errors is always precarious, and it is not surprising that Torczyner's explanation has not been generally accepted. Mr J. W. Jack, for instance, would identify the prophet with Jeremiah, which would make the letter even more interesting. He compares the words of Letter VI:

> Who is thy slave, a dog, that my lord has sent the letter of the king and the letters of the officers, saying, Read, I pray thee, and thou wilt see: the words of the [prophet?] are not good, to loosen the hands, to [make] sink the hands of the country and the city,

with Jeremiah xxxviii, 4: "Then the princes [the same word as "officers" above] said, . . . This man . . . weakeneth the hands of the men of war that remain in this city, and the hands of all the people"; but the vital word "prophet" is only a conjecture, and the whole matter is too uncertain to allow of any conclusion that is much better than a guess.

So much, then, for Lachish and its letters. It cannot be said that they add much to our definite knowledge, still less that they 'prove the Bible'; but there is no sort of reason to doubt that they are original documents belonging to the last days of the Jewish kingdom, the days in which Jeremiah spoke and wrote. No one will deny that there is a thrill in being brought thus close to the Bible narrative, and that if the letters do not add much to knowledge they

do add some life and colour of detail to the familiar narrative of the books of Kings and Chronicles and to the tragic prophecies and misfortunes of Jeremiah. It is just this background of colour and detail that is one of the great services that archæology can render to Bible study.

Bethshan, Megiddo, and other Sites

While the work at Tell Duweir was going on two sites were being excavated in the north of Palestine with the lavish thoroughness characteristic of the days of American prosperity. The two sites occupy somewhat similar positions with regard to the great valley which breaks across the mountain-mass of Palestine, running from west to east from Haifa to the Jordan valley, and known as the valleys of Esdraelon and Jezreel. Beisan, the site of the ancient Bethshan, stands at the east end of it, where the valley of Jezreel meets the Jordan valley. Megiddo commands the best pass from the coastal plain to the valley of Esdraelon, and thence north to the hill country of Galilee and north-east to Damascus. It has at all times been a point of strategic importance. There Thothmes III in 1479 B.C. met and defeated a great federation of Asiatic invaders. There Josiah met Necho, king of Egypt, in 609 B.C., and was slain. Through that pass Allenby's cavalry poured in September 1918 to complete the discomfiture of the Turkish armies; and there, according to the seer of the book of Revelation, the kings of the whole world will be gathered together unto the war of the great day of God the Almighty.

The hill of Beisan (Plate XXII) is in its aspect probably the most imposing city-mound in Palestine, and not unnaturally attracted the attention of the University of Pennsylvania when it was looking out for a site to excavate in that country. The work began in 1921 and was continued until 1933, when financial reasons compelled it to close down. It was under the direction of Dr

BETHSHAN (FROM THE SOUTH)

By permission of the University Museum, Philadelphi

MEGIDDO: THE MOUND FROM THE WESTERN HILLS

By permission of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

APYRUS ROLL (BERLIN THEÆTETUS PAPYRUS)
Berlin Museum

Clarence Fisher from 1921 to 1923, of Mr Alan Rowe from 1925 to 1928, and of Mr G. M. FitzGerald from 1930 to 1933. It was carried on by the method of clearing a wide surface systematically, each occupation-level being planned, photographed, and cleared away before the next was approached. In this way ten successive levels were cleared over a wide area, after which a narrow cutting was carried down to virgin soil, which was reached in the eighteenth level, 70 feet below the surface of the latest occupation.

Actually Bethshan, in spite of its strategic position, played little part in the history of the Hebrews. Inhabited from the fourth millennium B.C., it was never of importance except during the periods when it was occupied by the Egyptians. A number of scarabs of the reign of Thothmes III (*c.* 1501–1447) show that it had an Egyptian garrison, though the population was Canaanite, as is shown by a pair of temples dedicated to the Canaanite god Mekal and his female consort. Under the weak rule of Amenhotep IV it was lost, but was recovered by Seti I (*c.* 1314–1292) at the beginning of the XIXth Dynasty. Scarabs of the XIXth and XXth Dynasties are plentiful, and two stelæ or inscribed slabs of Seti have been found. An inscription of Rameses II (*c.* 1292–1225) has also been found, and a statue of Rameses III (*c.* 1198–1167). After this the Egyptians seem to have lost their hold on Bethshan, and it must have been occupied by the Philistines, since it was thither that they carried the bodies of Saul and Jonathan after the battle on Mount Gilboa (1 Sam. xxxi, 10–13), whence they were rescued by the men of Jabesh-gilead. The Philistine phase was, however, of short duration, and has left little or no mark on the remains revealed by excavation. What is clear is that for a long time after the end of the eleventh century the site was unoccupied, and it seems certain that David, as part of his final victory over the Philistines, captured and destroyed Bethshan, and left it desolate. When Shishak invaded

Palestine in the reign of Rehoboam (1 Kings xiv, 25, 26) he claims in a great inscription which he set up at Karnak to have captured Bethshan among a large number of other cities, but this was only a temporary raid, and Bethshan henceforth passes out of history.

The work at Megiddo was one of the grandiose enterprises of the Oriental Institute of Chicago, inspired by Dr J. H. Breasted, who had the backing of the bottomless purse of Mr J. D. Rockefeller, junior. The work was begun by Dr C. S. Fisher in 1925, but in 1927 was taken over by Mr P. L. O. Guy, who carried on until the source of supplies dried up on the death of Dr Breasted. The modern name of the site is Tell el-Mutesellim (Plate XXII). A German architect, Dr G. Schumacher, had attacked it in 1903–5 under the auspices of the Deutsche Orientgesellschaft, and had driven a trench into it, but with little result. Mr Guy now set to work on the system of horizontal clearance, more extensively and deliberately applied here than on any previous site, and had carried it down to the level of the Hebrew monarchy when his operations were brought to an end. The most interesting result was the uncovering of a range of buildings which he identified with all probability as the stables of Solomon, who is recorded to have had provision for horsemen "in all the chariot cities," and to have built, among other places, at Megiddo (1 Kings ix, 15–19; x, 26); and a great shaft, cut in the rock to a depth of 122 feet, and meeting a tunnel, 165 feet in length, followed by a cave of 75 feet, which ended in a natural spring. This tremendous work reminds one of Hezekiah's operations to bring the water-supply of Jerusalem within the walls (p. 180), of a rock tunnel, 94 feet deep, found at Gezer in the excavations of 1902–8, and of the unfinished shaft at Lachish (p. 193).

When the Oriental Institute was obliged by lack of funds to curtail its operations means were found to continue work at Megiddo on a reduced scale, under Mr Gordon Loud. This perseverance was rewarded by a remarkable

discovery, early in 1938, of gold ornaments and ivories, but no full account of these has yet been published.

There have been excavations at other sites in Palestine: at Gezer, where Macalister, digging in 1902–8 for the P.E.F., found, in addition to the water tunnel mentioned above, a row of pillars (the *massebah* of the Old Testament, condemned in Exodus xxxiv, 13, Deuteronomy xii, 3, Hosea iii, 4, Micah v, 13, etc.) erected on a platform in a temple of Baal; Kiriath-sephir (Tell Beit Mirsim), excavated by Albright in 1926–30, showing successive occupations by Egyptians, Hyksos, Philistines, and Israelites, from the Early Bronze Age (*c.* 2000) to the fall of the Jewish monarchy, accompanied by a wealth of minor objects that illustrate the successive cultures; Gaza, where Petrie worked on the pre-Philistine city in 1931–34; and others of less note. But these do not contribute much to Bible study, though they do help to increase our knowledge of the manner of life which prevailed in Palestine during the Old Testament period.

Sinai

A considerable part of the district stretching south of Beersheba to the northern part of the Sinai Peninsula was archæologically surveyed in the early months of 1914 by C. L. Woolley and T. E. Lawrence, whose results were published by the Palestine Exploration Fund under the title of *The Wilderness of Zin* (1915, reprinted 1936). These results were mainly topographical, but they include a destructive criticism of a flowery description by an American traveller of Ain Kadeis. Lawrence demonstrated that this could not possibly have been the Kadesh-Barnea which appears from the narrative in Numbers and Deuteronomy to have been the headquarters of the Israelites during their wanderings in the wilderness, unless the name is extended to cover a much wider area than the water-hole now designated as Ain Kadeis. Otherwise the survey added

nothing to Biblical criticism, though it is interesting to note that the one period when this district supported a large population was under the Byzantine Empire, when the chronic difficulty of lack of water was met by an extensive construction of reservoirs and cisterns.

But the real discovery of importance in the Sinai Peninsula was that of certain inscriptions first noticed by Petrie at Serabit, in the extreme south, in 1904–5. The place was in the neighbourhood of some turquoise mines, which had been worked by the Egyptians from a very early date; and these inscriptions were graffiti left by workmen employed in the mines. Not much notice was taken of them at first, but in 1916 Dr Alan Gardiner put forward the theory that the characters found in these inscriptions indicated a pictorial alphabet which was the desiderated link between the Egyptian hieroglyphs and the Phœnician alphabet. Gardiner and Peet published reproductions of the inscriptions in 1917, and Dr A. Cowley added some further identifications and decipherments; but what really gave publicity to the discovery was the claim of Professor Grimme, of Münster, to have deciphered the name of Moses in one of the inscriptions. Apparently the name M S H (Mosheh) does occur, but since the inscriptions are some centuries older than the Exodus it does not much matter. Nevertheless, the scientific interest of specialists was aroused, and in 1929 an expedition headed by Professor Kirsopp Lake, which was at work in the peninsula of Sinai, on the suggestion of Gardiner visited Serabit and transported all the inscriptions that could be found to Cairo.[1] On the strength of the fuller information thus obtained Gardiner renewed his claim in an article in the Palestine Exploration Fund *Quarterly Statement* in 1929. He identified some of the characters as practically identical with certain Egyptian hieroglyphs, and, taking the first letter of these characters,

[1] Kirsopp Lake, "The Serabit Inscriptions," in *Harvard Theological Review*, January 1928.

and thus using them alphabetically, he read the name of the Canaanite deity Baalat, recurring more than once. His conclusions have not been universally accepted, but there seems to be an increasing stream of concurrence in his view that this Sinai script is indeed an adaptation of hieroglyphs to alphabetic use and an early stage in the formation of the Phœnician alphabet, from which the Hebrew and Greek alphabets were derived. If so we are here very near the foundation of the alphabet. The date of these graffiti is uncertain, Gardiner being inclined to assign them to the period of the XIIth Dynasty (*c.* 2200–2000), and Sethe to the Hyksos period (after 1800). The latter does not, however, seem probable, since there is no evidence that the Hyksos worked the turquoise mines. In any case, however, we have in these Sinai inscriptions an early stage in the history of Hebrew writing, to be linked up with the other early examples from Byblos, Lachish, Gezer, and elsewhere. These results will be summed up in a later chapter.

CHAPTER IX

PAPYRI

In the previous chapters frequent mention has been made of discoveries of writings on clay tablets or, occasionally, on potsherds; but one material, and that the most important for the western half of the ancient world, has barely been mentioned. Its consideration might have formed part of the chapter dealing with Egypt, since all the discoveries associated with it were made in that land; but it is a subject so special in character and also so important as to deserve a separate chapter to itself.

It has always been known, from statements and references in Greek and Latin writers, that the principal material for books throughout the great period of the literature of those nations was papyrus; but until our own day specimens of writing on this material were exceedingly rare. One or two manuscripts and a few documents, of the sixth or seventh century, survived in Italy, and some papal documents, as late as the tenth century, in Spain; but in general it could be said, up to the middle of the eighteenth century, that all Greek and Latin books prior to the fourth century of our era had perished, because they were written on papyrus. Papyrus was a perishable material, becoming brittle with age and being rotted by damp; consequently papyrus manuscripts preserved above ground had long ago turned to dust and been replaced by copies on vellum, and papyrus manuscripts buried underground had perished from damp—except where the soil and climate were so dry as to give them a chance of survival.

The one country offering these exceptional conditions was Egypt above the region of the Delta;[1] but this fact was

[1] A few papyri have been found in other places where the conditions were comparable—in the desert near Beersheba and at Dura, in the Euphrates valley—but these are negligible exceptions to the rule.

not realized until a hundred and fifty years ago, and was not *effectively* realized until a century later. Actually the first discovery of papyrus manuscripts in modern times was made in 1752, when among the ruins of Herculaneum, destroyed by the historic eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79, a room was disinterred containing a quantity of lumps of charred material, which had once been rolls of papyrus lying on the shelves of a philosopher's library. These, however, were so difficult to handle, to unroll, and to read that it was not until 1793 that the first volume of texts deciphered from them was published; and in any case it was a find of quite exceptional character. The first find of papyrus manuscripts in Egypt was made in 1778, when some natives in the province of the Fayum unearthed a pot containing a number of rolls of this quite unfamiliar material. The antika-dealers to whom they were offered were not interested, and eventually only one was kept as a curiosity, the rest being burned. The one survivor was acquired by Cardinal Stefano Borgia, and when published by N. Schow in 1788 proved to be a list of workmen employed (according to the long-established Egyptian custom) on forced labour on the dikes controlling the Nile inundation in the year A.D. 191—a record of no importance, but the forerunner of a mighty host.

For the next century discoveries were few and sporadic, though not without interest. In 1820 a pot was unearthed on the site of the Serapeum at Memphis containing a number of documents relating to the recluses who lived in the precincts of the temple in the second century B.C. In the following year the first literary papyrus came to light, a roll of the second century containing the last book of the *Iliad*, acquired by Mr W. J. Bankes and now in the British Museum. In 1836 the first Biblical papyrus was acquired by the same Museum from Dr E. Hogg—thirty-two leaves of a papyrus Psalter, said to have been discovered "among the rubbish of an ancient convent at Thebes." It was of the seventh century, and therefore considerably later than

several vellum manuscripts already known, such as the Vaticanus and Alexandrinus, so that no special importance attached to the discovery. It was long before any other portion of the Bible came to light. A few more literary papyri emerged in the following years—some books or smaller portions of Homer, considerable portions of four of the lost orations of Hyperides, and a fragment of Alcman, most of which also eventually found their way to the British Museum; also some books of magical formulæ; but up to the year 1877 all the known manuscripts on papyrus, literary or non-literary, amounted to a total of less than two hundred.

A new era opened in 1877, when a huge mass, amounting to several thousands of fragments, was dug up by natives near the ancient town of Arsinoë, in the Fayum. The bulk of the collection was acquired by the Archduke Rainer for his library in Vienna, but publication of it was for a long time sporadic and very incomplete. The papyri were for the most part non-literary documents of the Byzantine period, of very slight general interest, and most of them were very fragmentary. There was nothing to impress people with the fact that a new era of literary discovery was at hand. It was in the year 1891 that this era really dawned. In that year the British Museum announced its acquisition of a group of literary papyri, including the lost treatise of Aristotle on the *Constitutional History of Athens*, the mimes of Herodas (a contemporary of Theocritus), part of an oration of Hyperides, and a long medical treatise, besides early copies of parts of known works of Homer, Demosthenes, and Isocrates. Almost simultaneously there appeared from Dublin a number of texts, recovered from fragments of papyrus which had been used to make the *papier mâché* cartonnage of mummies in the third century B.C. Most of these were non-literary, but among them were portions of Plato and Euripides which were the earliest specimens of manuscripts of classical literature known. They had been acquired by Flinders

Petrie at Gurob, in the Fayum, and were edited in 1891–94 by the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy.

These discoveries roused the world of scholarship, and from this time dates the intensive search for papyri in Egypt, both by native dealers and by scientific excavators. The former were first in the field and have continued to be the more active. The great find of 1877 directed their attention to the Fayum, the province round the ancient Lake Mœris, lying to the west of the Nile, some fifty to sixty miles south-west of Cairo. Here a great field for search was found among the ruined towns and villages of the province, which had been largely inhabited by a Greek-speaking population from the days of the Ptolemies to the Arab conquest in A.D. 640. From this source great quantities of papyri reached the European museums, some of the best preserved being from Dimé (Socnopæi Nesus), which are well represented in the British Museum. Discoveries of papyri, however, have not been by any means confined to the Fayum. The soil of the Delta is too moist to allow of the preservation of papyri there; but south of the Fayum there have been several prolific sites, notably Behnesa (Oxyrhynchus), Eshmunen (Hermopolis), Kom Ishgau (Aphroditopolis), Akhmim (Panopolis), etc.

Apart from the special case of fragments extracted from the cartonnage of mummies (which has been the principal source of early Ptolemaic texts), papyri have chiefly been found either in the ruins of houses or in the rubbish heaps by which Egyptian towns were generally surrounded. The success attaching to the excavations at Oxyrhynchus, to be mentioned later, has attracted special attention to the rubbish heaps; but in many cases the rubbish has been reduced to dust, and always the documents to be found there are likely to be extremely fragmentary. It is to this source in the main that we owe the large number of tantalizing scraps of lost classical literature which are now so plentiful in our museums—useful as proving that these works existed at a certain period, but giving little information

as to their character and very few continuous passages of any size. For texts on a larger scale one has generally to look to the ruins of houses or occasionally to cemeteries. The papyrus of Timotheus' *Persæ*, now in Berlin, which is the earliest extant specimen of a Greek literary manuscript, having been written late in the fourth century B.C., was found in a tomb, and so apparently was the Aristotle papyrus and those which accompanied it. Other finds of substantial rolls have been made in the ruins of houses, sometimes inside jars, which were frequently used as bookcases. Such was the case with the fifth-century codex of Menander found by G. Lefebvre in 1905 at Kom Ishgau, and the papyri from the Serapeum of Memphis mentioned previously (p. 205); but unfortunately in most cases the exact circumstances of discovery are unknown, since the discoveries have been made by natives, who do not care to reveal their sources.

Scientific explorations for papyri have unfortunately been few. By far the most important has been that of Oxyrhynchus, conducted on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund by Messrs B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. After some preliminary explorations in the Fayum these two young Oxford students embarked in 1896 on the exploration of the rubbish heaps surrounding this site, which was that of a city in central Egypt with a large Greek population. They were rewarded by a sensational discovery (to be described later) in their first season, and from 1896 to 1906 they continued to amass papyri, the publication of which has already extended to seventeen substantial volumes (with, it is said, about as much more to come), while the papyri themselves, after publication, have been distributed to museums and libraries in the countries supporting the Fund. After the relinquishment of the site by the Fund further work was done there by an Italian expedition, which was not unfruitful; but the chief enterprise of scientific exploration in recent times has been that of Kom Ushim (Karanis), in the Fayum, undertaken in 1924 by

the University of Michigan and carried out with great thoroughness, though with little return in the way of literature.

For the most part, however, the work of exploration has been left to natives, and the proceeds have reached Europe and America through the medium of dealers. At first, no doubt, quantities of documents perished through the ignorance of the diggers, and even now, when the value of papyri is better known, the losses are incalculable, while finds may be split up among the finders and so reach different destinations. Thus the fourth-century correspondence of Flavius Abinnæus is divided between London and Geneva, while the papers of Zenon, a finance official in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, found at Philadelphia, in the Fayum, in 1914, which are by far the largest archive of the kind and of great value for economic history of the early Ptolemaic period, are scattered over the face of the earth, with the largest portions in Italy or at Cairo. Still, in one way or another great quantities of papyri have within these last fifty years reached the scholars of the Western world, and have added rich material of the most varied kinds for them to work on.

This is not the place for a survey of all the contributions which the papyri discovered in Egypt have made to our knowledge of the Græco-Roman world, whether in respect of its literature, its history, its law, its economy, or its domestic life. What we are here concerned with is an estimate of their contribution to our knowledge of the Bible, which affects both the evidence of its authenticity, the integrity of its text, and the manner in which its books have been handed down.

First with regard to the antiquity of writing and the form of books. The discoveries of the last century have included Egyptian writings as well as Greek (and a few Latin), all upon papyrus, which was the indigenous writing material of Egypt. The earliest Egyptian manuscript at present known is the Papyrus Prisse, acquired from natives

by M. Prisse d'Avennes, and presented by him to the Bibliotheque Royale (now Nationale) in Paris in 1847. It contains two moral treatises, "The Teaching of Kagemna" (incomplete) and "The Teaching of Ptah-hetep," works comparable in character with the Proverbs of Solomon. The manuscript is assigned to the XIIth Dynasty (*c.* 2200–2000 B.C.), but the works contained in it are said to have been written respectively in the reigns of Huni (*c.* 3100 B.C.), of the IIIrd Dynasty, and Assa, or Isesi (*c.* 2860 B.C.), of the Vth. From this date onwards Egyptian papyri, both in hieroglyphic and hieratic script, are plentiful. By far the greater number of them are religious in character, including legends of the gods, hymns, and especially ritual works such as the great Book of the Dead, which gives instructions for the passage of the soul after death into the next world. Of these it need only be said that there is no sign of their having influenced the religion of the Hebrews. There are also stories, some wholly imaginative, such as "The Tale of the Two Brothers" or "The Story of the Shipwrecked Traveller," others partly or even wholly historical, such as "The Story of Sanehat" or the narrative of the journey of the priest Wenamon into Syria to buy cedar for the sacred boat of Amen-Ra, towards the end of the twelfth century. But of historical literature in general there is unfortunately very little. There are self-laudatory inscriptions on stone, recording the achievements of Thothmes II or Thothmes III, and there are autobiographies of officials carved on their tombs; but the writing of history in our sense of the term was not practised in Egypt. The nearest approach to it is in the great Harris Papyrus in the British Museum (the largest roll of papyrus in existence, measuring 133 feet in length), which contains a record of the reign of Rameses III, but rather in the style of panegyric than of history. That the Egyptian priests kept chronological records we know from such lists of kings as are recorded on the Palermo Stone or in the Turin Papyrus, or in the

catalogue reproduced by Eusebius from the history compiled by Manetho in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus; but the history itself has not survived, and we do not know on what materials it was based.

One fact, however, is quite clear—namely, that when the Hebrews left Egypt they left a country in which writing had been freely practised for many centuries; and if Moses was "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians" he was certainly well acquainted with writing. We also now have full knowledge of the form of book in use through all the period when the works which now compose our Bible were produced. In Mesopotamia, as we have seen, books were clay tablets or cylinders; in Egypt they were rolls of papyrus. In Palestine both forms were known. The Tell el-Amarna letters and the library of Nigmed of Ugarit show that clay tablets in cuneiform script circulated in Syria and Palestine in the fourteenth century; and the narrative of Wenamon, mentioned above, records the sending of five hundred rolls of fine papyrus from Egypt to Byblos in the twelfth century. Leather was probably used for the books of the Law, as prescribed in the later regulations of the Talmud; but papyrus was probably the material in use for ordinary purposes, and this would account for the disappearance of contemporary records of the Hebrew kingdoms.

For the Græco-Roman period, when the manuscripts of the Septuagint and the New Testament were written, we are on firm ground. Thanks to the discoveries of the last fifty years, we know exactly what a Greek book looked like from the third century B.C. onwards. The material was papyrus, formed from the pith of the water plant of that name which grew in the Nile. The strips of pith were laid down in two layers, in one of which (the side primarily intended for writing, though both could be used) the fibres lay horizontally, while in the other they were vertical. The sheets so formed (the size of which depended on the length of the papyrus fibres) could either

be used singly for short compositions, such as letters, or fastened side by side to form rolls of any desired length. Some of the ancient Egyptian rolls which have survived are of very great length: the Harris Papyrus, mentioned above, is 133 feet in length and 17 inches high; the Greenfield Papyrus, a copy of the Book of the Dead, is 123 feet long and 19 inches high. But these are not books intended for ordinary reading, for which they would be far too cumbrous. A Greek roll (Plate XXIII) rarely, if ever, exceeded a length of 30–35 feet, and about 9 or 10 inches was a usual height. Such a roll, with ordinary handwriting, would suffice for a text of the length of a single Gospel or the Acts, but not for more. Longer books, such as those of Genesis or Isaiah, must have been divided into two rolls; and of such divisions there is some actual evidence.

We must, therefore, imagine each Gospel as at first circulating separately; there was no possibility of combining all four Gospels in a single volume, and still less of a complete New Testament, so long as the papyrus roll was the vehicle of publication. Until recently it had been supposed that this was the case until the fourth century, when vellum took the place of papyrus as the principal book material. Discoveries, however, made within the present century, and especially within the last ten years, have shown that the Christian community at a very early date realized the advantage of making up papyrus in what is known as the 'codex' form, which is simply the modern form of book, with leaves made up in quires, any number of which may be fastened together to form a volume of the required size. To do this the sheets of papyrus as originally manufactured, instead of being fastened together side by side to make a roll, were laid one on top of another and then folded once vertically. The number of sheets which could be so treated at a time varies. Eventually it was found that a quire, or gathering, of from four to six sheets, which when folded gave eight to twelve leaves, was the most convenient form; but before this arrange-

ment had been arrived at codices were formed of quires with any number of leaves, from a series of single sheets (giving two leaves or four pages) up to monstrous quires of more than a hundred leaves.

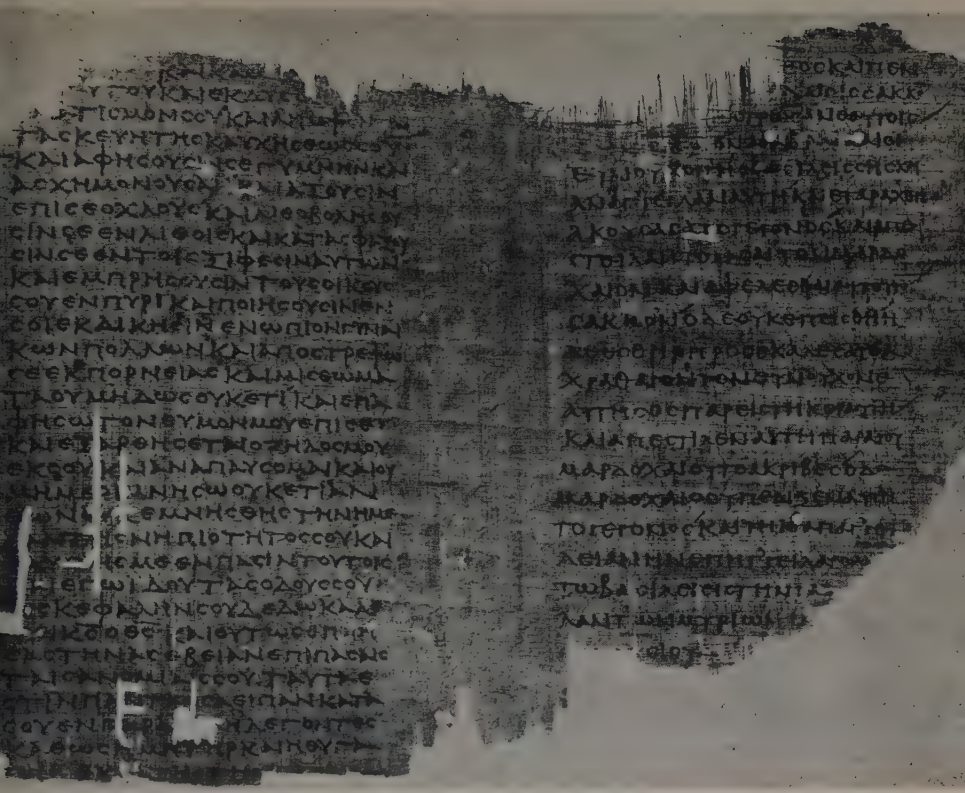
That the codex form of papyrus book, if not actually invented by the Christians, was first exploited by them is clear from the evidence from Egypt. In the case of non-Christian literature no codex has been found earlier than the third century, and in the third century not more than 5 per cent. of the discovered fragments come from codices. The papyrus roll, therefore, was dominant until the beginning of the fourth century. In the case of Christian literature, on the other hand, the large majority of third-century papyri are codices, and examples are known, as will be described below, which go back to the first half of the second century. By this adoption of the codex form (Plate XXIV) it was possible to bring together a much larger quantity of matter than could be contained in a roll; and, as will be seen shortly, we now have a copy of the four Gospels and the Acts in a single codex, and another of the Pauline Epistles, which go back at least to the early part of the third century, while a codex containing the book of Numbers and Deuteronomy (about equal in length to the three Synoptic Gospels) is as early as the first half of the second century. These are facts not merely of bibliographical interest, for when it was possible to combine the four canonical Gospels in a single volume it was easier to mark them off as the officially recognized narratives of our Lord's life, in contradistinction to the other narratives which, as we know from St Luke, were in circulation; and similarly an officially recognized collection of St Paul's letters could be formed. Of a combined New Testament or a combined Bible there was no question until Christianity had become the recognized religion of the Roman Empire, and by that time vellum was available for the purpose, as we see in the existing Vatican and Sinaitic codices. From the beginning of the fourth century vellum became the

principal material for books, and papyrus ceases to be of much importance for Biblical criticism.

Biblical papyri were at first very scanty among the discoveries in Egypt. When the period of intensive search for papyri began, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the only extant Biblical papyrus of any size was the portion of a seventh-century Psalter mentioned above. A few verses of a late Psalter were recorded at Berlin, and some fragments of late codices at St Petersburg and in the Rainer collection at Vienna; but the only foretaste of what might be forthcoming in the way of documents of an earlier period was half a dozen verses of Isaiah, of the third century, in the Rainer collection, acquired in 1877, but not notified until 1892. But the first season of Grenfell and Hunt's operations at Oxyrhynchus produced a discovery of the first order of interest. This was a single imperfect leaf from a codex of the third century, containing hitherto unknown "Sayings of Jesus" (Plate XXV). This is the form of them:

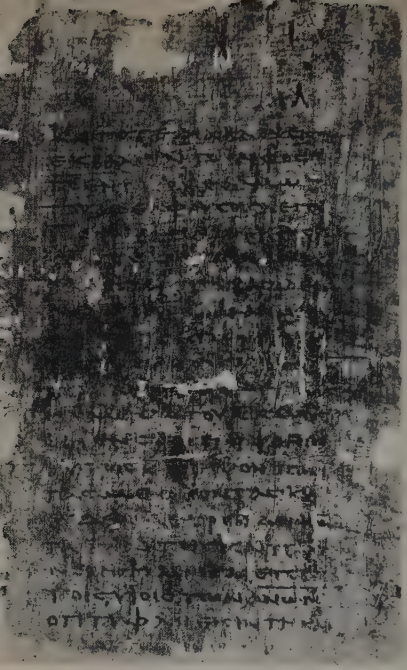
> Jesus saith, Except ye fast to the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God; and except ye keep the sabbath as a sabbath, ye shall not see the Father.
>
> Jesus saith, I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen of them, and I found all men drunken and none found I athirst among them, and my soul is in trouble over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart and see not.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Jesus saith, Wherever there are two, they are not without God, and wherever there is one alone, I say, I am with him. Raise the stone, and there shalt thou find me; cleave the wood, and I am there.
>
> Jesus saith, A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither doth a physician work cures on those that know him.

Evidently this is an example of the collections of traditional sayings of our Lord, which no doubt circulated in the generations immediately succeeding His life. Some of them, such as the last quoted above, repeat in a different

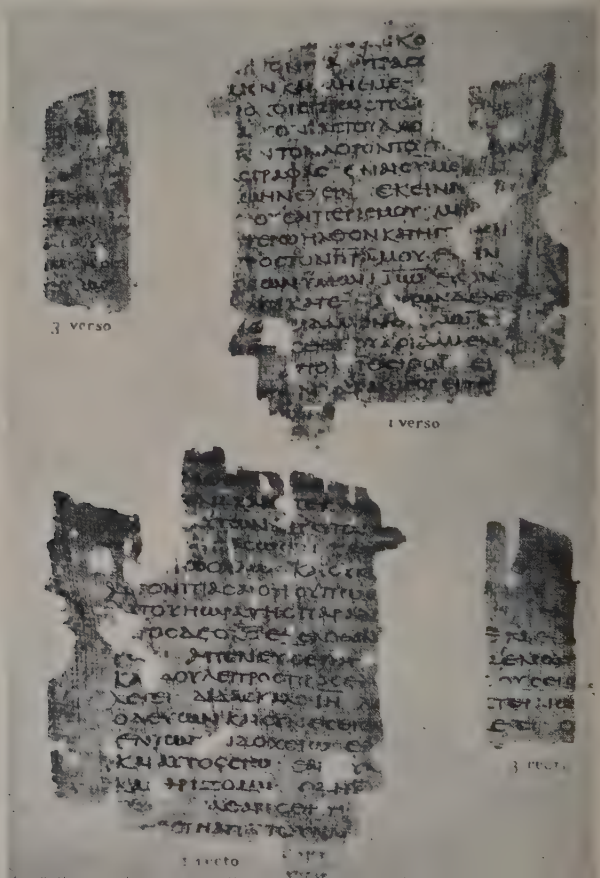


YRUS CODEX (CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRUS OF EZEKIEL, DANIEL, AND ESTHER)

Photo Emery Walker



THE SAYINGS OF JESUS (OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRUS)
From "Logia Jesu" (Egypt Exploration Society)



FRAGMENTS OF THE NEW GOSPEL
British Museum

form words known to us from the canonical Gospels. Others are new, and sometimes have a mystical tone foreign to the canonical record but found in quotations in early Christian writings. Their genuineness cannot be either proved or disproved by objective evidence, but the age of the papyrus shows that they are of early date, and they have none of the extravagance of later apocryphal utterances.

The second season's work at Oxyrhynchus produced another fragment, not of the same manuscript, but of the same or a similar collection of Sayings, written on the back of a roll containing a land-survey of about the end of the second century, and therefore itself securely attributable to the third century. It contains the beginning of the collection, with the following prefatory words: "These are the [. . .] words which Jesus, the living [Lord], spake to [. . .] and Thomas, and he said unto them, Whosoever [shall hearken] unto these words shall not taste [of death]." Unfortunately the papyrus is seriously mutilated. The following are the most striking phrases:

> Jesus saith, Let not him that seeks [the kingdom?] cease until he find it, and when he finds it [he will be astonished]. Astonished he shall attain the kingdom, and [having attained] he shall have rest.
>
> Jesus saith, . . . The kingdom [of heaven] is within you. Whosoever shall know himself shall find it. [Strive therefore] to know yourselves, [and ye shall know that] you are sons of the Father.

The first of these is quoted by Clement of Alexandria as from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which makes the restoration of it certain, except the word which follows "seeks."

These are not the only contributions to uncanonical literature that have been made by the papyri. The same Oxyrhynchus volume which contained the second group of Sayings contained also some much mutilated fragments of a third-century manuscript of a Gospel which, though

uncanonical, seems clearly to rest upon the canonical synoptists. The following is the most coherent passage:

> Take no thought from morning until even, nor from evening unto morning, either for your food, what ye shall eat, or for your raiment, what ye shall put on. Ye are far better than the lilies, which grow but spin not. Having one garment, what [need ye]? And ye, who could add to your stature? He himself will give you your clothing. His disciples say unto him, When wilt thou be manifest to us, and when shall we see thee? He said, When ye shall be unclothed and shall not be ashamed.

The close relation between this composition and the canonical Gospels is obvious, and no one will doubt that the writer of the Oxyrhynchus fragment was acquainted with the Evangelists. This is less certain in the case of a more recent discovery published only in 1935. Among a miscellaneous lot of papyri bought by the British Museum from a dealer in the previous year were found some fragments of an unknown life of Christ, written in a hand which could not be put later than the middle of the second century. They are portions of three leaves of a codex, and are, therefore, another example of the early use of this form of book by the Christians (Plate XXV).[1] They contain four episodes in the life of our Lord, told quite simply, and therefore unlike the exaggerated and fanciful style of later apocryphal gospels, and in language showing strong affinities, sometimes with the Synoptic Gospels and sometimes with the Fourth Gospel. The exact wording is often left doubtful by the mutilation of the papyrus, but the main drift of three out of the four episodes is clear. Here is the third:

> . . . . coming unto him they began to tempt him with questions, saying, Rabbi Jesus, we know that thou art come from God; for the things that thou doest give witness above all the prophets. Tell us therefore: Is it lawful to give unto kings that which pertains to their rule? Shall we give to

[1] Published by H. I. Bell and T. C. Skeat in *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel* (1935).

them or not? But Jesus, knowing their thoughts, was moved with indignation and spake unto them: Why call ye me Rabbi with your mouth but hear not what I say? Well did Esaias prophesy concerning you, saying, This people honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. In vain do they worship me, [teaching as their doctrines] the precepts [of men].

Here the echoes of the Synoptic Gospels are unmistakable, but in the first episode the phrases are those of the Fourth Gospel, though no passage is exactly quoted:

> And turning to the rulers of the people, he spake this word: Ye search the scriptures, in which ye think that ye have life; these are they which bear witness of me. Think not that I came to accuse you to my Father; there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye hope. And when they said, We know well that God spake unto Moses, but of thee we know not whence thou art, Jesus answered and said unto them, Now doth your want of faith condemn you. . . . [And the priests spake] to the people [that they should take up] stones to stone him. And the rulers laid their hands upon him that they might take him and deliver him to the multitude; and they could not take him, because the hour of his betrayal was not yet come. But the Lord went forth through the midst of them and departed from them.

These close parallels of language are only to be accounted for in one of two ways. Either the writer of this work is utilizing the four Gospels, recombining their phrases freely (perhaps from memory), or he is drawing upon material which the canonical Evangelists used. The balance of critical opinion is in favour of the former explanation; and if this is true the new narrative becomes a decisive proof that the traditional date of the Fourth Gospel is not far wrong. If a compilation based upon it could be circulating in a provincial town in Egypt before the end of the first half of the second century the Gospel itself must surely have been written before the end of the first century, and the contentions of the 'advanced' critics of the nineteenth century, that it was not produced until after A.D. 150, vanish into smoke. As we shall see, there is other evidence now available to the same effect.

Two other fragments of uncanonical Gospels have appeared among the Oxyrhynchus papyri (Nos. 840 and 1224). The first, a vellum leaf found among papyri of the fourth or fifth century, contains a conversation between our Lord and a Pharisee:

> And a certain Pharisee, a chief priest, whose name was Levi, met them and said to the Saviour, Who gave thee leave to walk in this place of purification and to see these holy vessels, when thou hast not washed thyself, nor yet have thy disciples bathed their feet? . . . And the Saviour standing with his disciples answered him, Art thou then, being here in the Temple, clean? And he said, I am clean; for I washed myself in the pool of David, and having gone down by one flight of steps I came up by another, and I put on raiment white and clean, and then I went and looked on these holy vessels. And the Saviour answered and said unto him, Woe to the blind that see not! Thou didst wash thyself in these running waters in which dogs and swine wallow day and night, and thou didst wash and anoint thine outer skin, even as the harlots and flute-players wash and anoint themselves and make themselves fair for the desires of men, but within they are full of scorpions and all wickedness. But I and my disciples, who thou sayest have not bathed ourselves, have bathed ourselves in the waters of eternal life.

The other consists only of a few small fragments, but must come from a substantial work, since it bears four page-numbers from 173 to 176. Its date is in the fourth century:

> The scribes and the Pharisees and the priests beholding him had indignation because he sat at table with sinners. But Jesus hearing them said, They that are whole have no need of a physician. . . .
>
> Pray for your enemies; for he that is not against you is for you. He that to-day is afar off, to-morrow will be near you.

These may be only specimens of the religious romances which we know to have been popular among the early Christians for purposes of edification; but it is possible that they retain some elements of the oral traditions which must have circulated extensively in addition to the canonical record. At any rate, they increase our knowledge of the

surroundings among which the books of the New Testament came into being and circulated.

The definitely apocryphal literature which surrounded the canonical books has also been notably augmented by recent discoveries. Of the Book of Enoch and of the Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter something will be said below. Apart from these, the most substantial contributions made by the papyri are the Ascension of Isaiah, previously known complete only in Ethiopic, but of which a considerable part of the Greek original is among the papyri purchased by Grenfell and Hunt for Lord Amherst in Egypt, and edited by them in 1900; and the Acts of Paul discovered by Dr C. Schmidt among some papyri acquired by the Hamburg State Library in 1927 and published in 1936. The Acts of Paul was one of the most popular of the early religious romances, written about the end of the second century and based rather remotely on the canonical Acts of the Apostles. The Hamburg manuscript, a codex of about A.D. 300, contains eleven pages (somewhat imperfect) of the lost Greek original of the Acts of Paul, together with the Song of Solomon and the Lamentations of Jeremiah, both in Coptic, and Ecclesiastes in both Coptic and Greek. This extensive fragment of the work has enabled the editor to work in some other small extant fragments, and to show that the work elsewhere referred to as the Acts of Thecla really formed a part of it.

Another early Christian work, the Shepherd of Hermas, has also profited greatly by the discoveries of papyri. How near this work came to being adopted as canonical appears from the fact of its inclusion (together with the Epistle of Barnabas) in the Codex Sinaiticus; but until about a century ago it was known only in Latin and Ethiopic translations and in the copious quotations of Clement of Alexandria and other Fathers. About a quarter of the Greek original came to light in the Codex Sinaiticus; but for the most part knowledge of the Greek depended on a

late (fourteenth or fifteenth century) manuscript at Mount Athos, of which the notorious manuscript-forger Simonides stole a portion and sold it to Leipzig University. About ten fragments appeared from time to time among the papyri from Oxyrhynchus and elsewhere, showing its popularity in Egypt; but much the most important is a codex acquired in 1922 by the University of Michigan, containing thirty-one imperfect leaves out of an original total of about a hundred, arranged in a single large quire. The handwriting is of the third century. This manuscript, admirably edited by Professor Campbell Bonner (1934), throws much light on the text of the Shepherd; and for the benefit of those who are acquainted with the criticism of this work it may be mentioned that calculations of space show that the codex must have begun with Vision 5, thus confirming the conjecture that the original work consisted of the Mandates and Similitudes, with the chapter subsequently known as Vision 5 as an introduction, and that Visions 1–4 were a later addition.

It is time, however, to come to manuscripts of the canonical books of the Greek Bible themselves. Before 1931 none of any considerable length had come to light except the seventh-century Psalter already mentioned; a papyrus roll at Leipzig, of the fourth century, containing Psalms xxx–lv; a roll from Oxyrhynchus, containing on its face parts of an Epitome of Livy, and on its back a considerable portion of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in a hand of the late third or early fourth century, particularly valuable because the Codex Vaticanus is defective in this book; twenty-seven leaves of a seventh-century codex of the Minor Prophets at Heidelberg, containing parts of Zephaniah and Malachi in a large and very rough hand; a codex at Berlin, probably early fourth century, containing (though with many mutilations) Genesis as far as xxxv, 8, after which the title of the book is appended, which suggests that it was copied from a roll ending at that point, the rest of the book being contained in a second roll (p. 212). This

manuscript was acquired from a dealer in 1906, but not published until 1927, when it appeared in the same volume with a codex of the Minor Prophets at Washington, of about the same date or a little earlier (late third century), containing all the books except Hosea (of which only a few verses survive), acquired by Mr C. L. Freer in 1916, and edited by Professor H. A. Sanders in 1927. It will be seen that in these manuscripts of substantial size the New Testament was represented only in the Oxyrhynchus Hebrews. The Septuagint benefited in respect of Genesis, which was particularly welcome in view of the fact that both the Vaticanus and the Sinaiticus are almost wholly wanting in this book, and by large portions of the Psalter and the Minor Prophets.

Besides these there were, however, a considerable number of small fragments, some few of which had definite value. A catalogue compiled by the Rev. P. L. Hedley, which is probably complete up to (but not including) the discovery of the Chester Beatty papyri announced at the end of 1931, gave the following figures:

	Papyri	*Ostraka*	*Vellum Fragments*	*Total*
Old Testament . .	66	18	90	174
New Testament . .	44	31	82	157

Small fragments, such as these are, can very seldom give important evidence with regard to particular readings, since the chances against a scrap of papyrus containing a passage of special textual interest are great. Their use is mainly to show what types of text were current in Egypt at a particular time. The bearing of this evidence will be dealt with in the final chapter of this book, when the results of modern discoveries for the text of the New Testament will be under consideration. Here it will suffice to say that the most important of these minor discoveries are a couple of fragments of Acts which show a text of the same character as that found in Codex Bezæ and two exceptionally early fragments recently brought to light in the John

Rylands Library at Manchester, which will be described below.

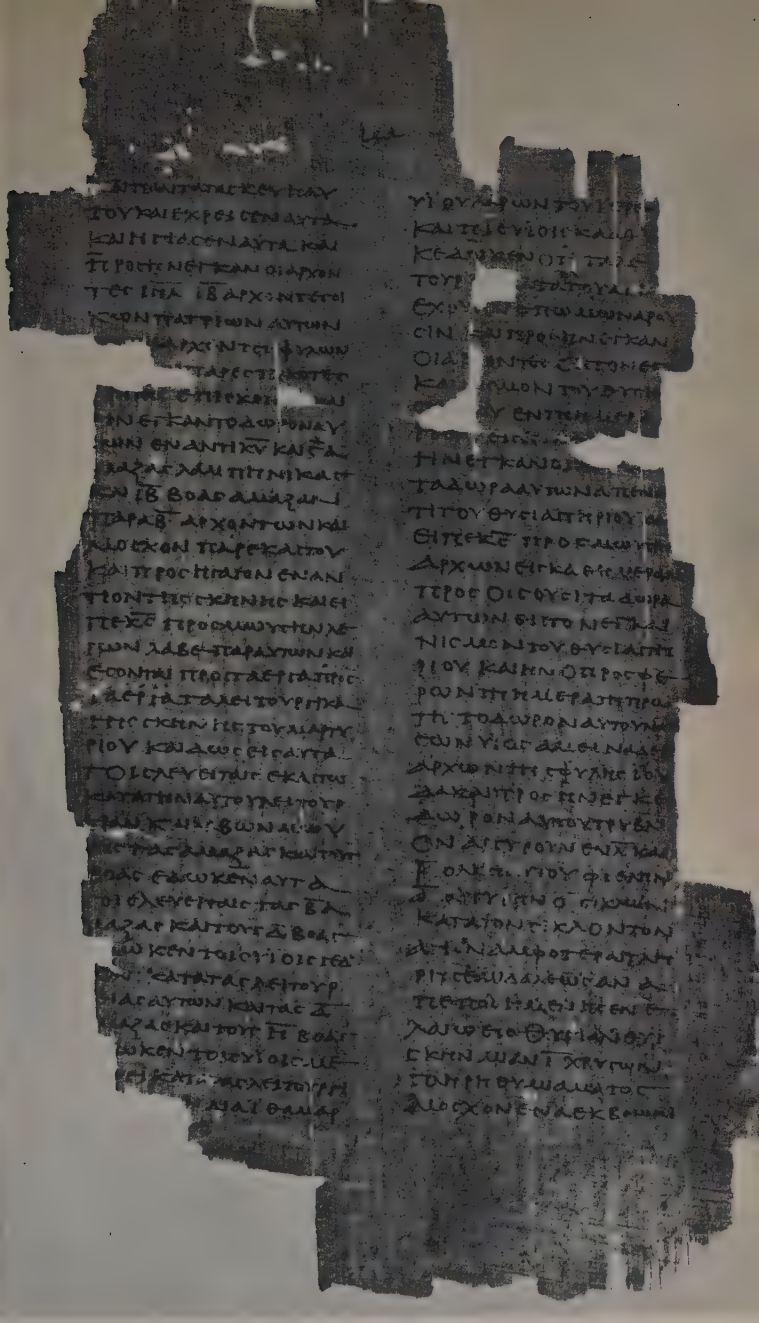
But by far the most important discovery of Biblical papyri, and, indeed, the most important in the whole department of the textual criticism of the Bible since the discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus, is a group of manuscripts the existence of which was first made public in November 1931. This is a collection of portions of eleven codices, containing in all parts of nine books of the Old Testament, fifteen books of the New Testament, the Book of Enoch, and a homily by a Father of the second century, Melito of Sardis, and ranging in date from the second century to the fourth. The greater part of this collection was acquired by Mr A. Chester Beatty, but substantial portions of two of the manuscripts came into the possession of the University of Michigan and Mr John H. Scheide, while some small fragments are in the Michigan Library, at Vienna, in Italy, and in private hands. It is quite possible that further portions still remain unrevealed in the keeping of the original finders or of dealers, and will make their appearance from time to time.

The details of the collection are as follows:

(1) *Genesis.* Two manuscripts, one consisting of fifty leaves, more or less mutilated, out of a total of sixty-six, covering chapters ix–xliv, and written in the fourth century, the other of twenty-seven leaves out of a total of eighty-four, covering (with lacunas) chapters xxiv–xlvi, with a few verses of viii, written in the latter part of the third century. These two manuscripts and the Berlin codex above mentioned show a high degree of agreement with one another, and together form a substantial basis for the text of Genesis.

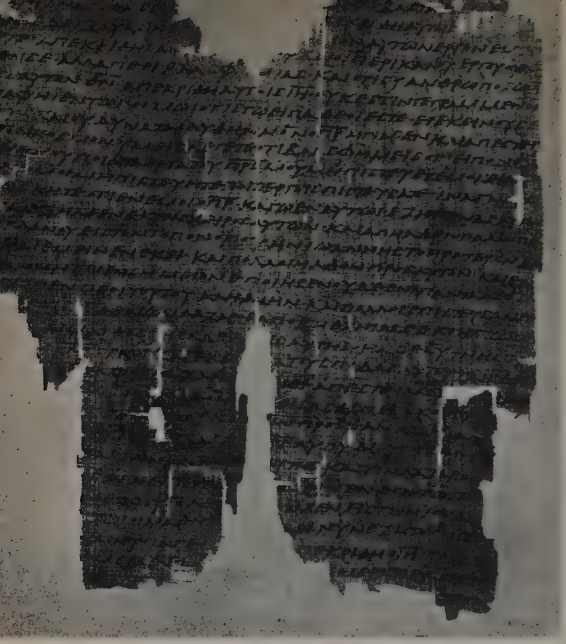
(2) *Numbers and Deuteronomy.* A finely written codex of the first half of the second century, and therefore the oldest extant manuscript of the Greek Bible of any substantial size. It has been terribly mutilated, some parts having been torn up into tiny fragments of only a few

PLATE XXVI

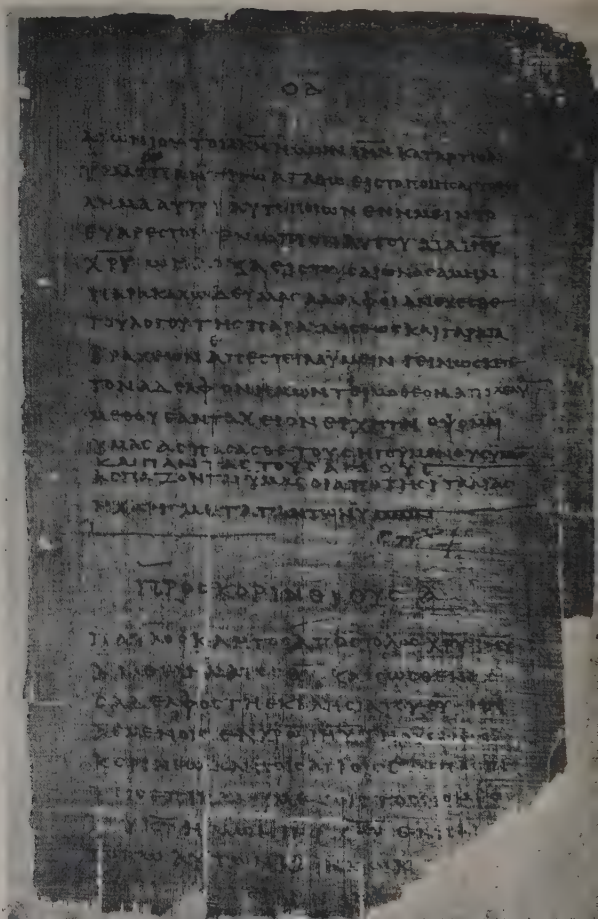


CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRUS OF NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

Photo Emery Walker



CHESTER BEATTY GOSPELS PAPYRUS
Photo Emery Walker



CHESTER BEATTY PAULINE PAPYRUS
Photo Emery Walker

letters, but it contains large parts of both books, especially Numbers v–viii, xxv–end, Deuteronomy i–xii, xxvii–end (Plate XXVI).

(3) *Isaiah.* Fragments, generally small, of thirty-three leaves out of a total of about a hundred and four, in a fine hand of the third century. The fragments are scattered among chapters viii–xix, xxxviii–lix. There are a few notes in an early kind of Coptic in the margin.

(4) *Jeremiah.* Small portions of two leaves, in a hand apparently of the end of the second century, containing a few verses of chapters iv and v.

(5) *Ezekiel, Daniel, and Esther.* Portions of a codex of apparently a hundred and eighteen leaves in a single quire, of which the first half contained the book of Ezekiel, and the second (in a different hand) those of Esther and Daniel (Plate XXIV). Twenty-one leaves of the Ezekiel portion were acquired by Mr Scheide, and have been deposited by him with Princeton University, and edited by Professor H. C. Johnson. Mr Chester Beatty has eight leaves (less perfect) of Ezekiel, thirteen of Daniel, and eight of Esther. The date is probably in the first half of the third century. Mr Beatty's portion of Ezekiel covers, imperfectly, chapters xi–xvii, Mr Scheide's, almost perfectly, xix–xxxix. The Daniel leaves cover chapters ii, 72–vi, 18, the Esther chapters ii, 20–viii, 6; but more than half of each leaf is lost. The Daniel text is particularly valuable because it is the original Septuagint version, otherwise only known in one late Greek manuscript and one copy of a Syriac translation. All other manuscripts give the translation of Theodotion, which in this book superseded the original Septuagint at a very early date.

(6) *Ecclesiasticus.* A leaf and a half of a codex of the fourth century, containing chapters xxxvi, 28 (23 in A.V. and R.V.)–xxxvii, 22, xlvi, 6–11, xlvi, 16–xlvii, 2.

(7) *Gospels and Acts.* Thirty imperfect leaves, of which two belong to Matthew, six to Mark, seven to Luke, two to John, and thirteen to Acts, those of Luke and John

being the best preserved (Plate XXVII). Written in a small hand of the first half of the third century. Except in the case of Matthew, enough is preserved to give a definite idea of the character of the text represented by this manuscript, which will be considered in the final chapter. It makes a very important contribution to the history of the text of these books.

(8) *Pauline Epistles.* Eighty-six leaves (all slightly mutilated) out of a total of a hundred and four (of which the last five were probably blank), arranged in a single quire, and written probably quite early in the third century (Plate XXVII). Thirty of the leaves belong to the University of Michigan, but after being edited for that University by Professor H. A. Sanders were included in the complete edition in the Chester Beatty series. The order of the Epistles is remarkable: Romans, Hebrews, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians. The Pastoral Epistles were apparently never included, since the five blank leaves which (on calculation) there must have been at the end would not nearly have sufficed for them. The order of the books is substantially in descending order of length, but the position of Hebrews is remarkable. It testifies to the fact (already known) that this epistle was unhesitatingly accepted as Pauline in the East, while it was not so in the Western Church.

(9) *Revelation.* Ten leaves (lacking 1–4 lines at the top of each page) out of a total of thirty-two, written probably in the second half of the third century. The leaves preserved form the central part of the manuscript, containing chapters ix, 10–xvii, 2. It is a useful addition to the small number of early manuscripts of this book.

(10) *Enoch and Melito.* Fourteen leaves, of which eight belong to the Beatty Collection and six to the University of Michigan (Plate XXVIII). Most of the leaves bear page-numbers, running from 15 to 42, of which pp. 15–26 contain the conclusion of Enoch, and 26–42 the first part

of the homily of Melito. Fourteen pages would not have sufficed for the earlier chapters of Enoch, and how much would have been required to complete the Melito is unknown, since the text of the homily has not hitherto been extant; so the original content of the codex remains doubtful. The writing is rough and incorrect, probably by an ignorant scribe of the fourth century. Until 1892 the Book of Enoch was known only in a few quotations and an Ethiopic version brought by James Bruce from Abyssinia in 1773, but not published till 1821. The discovery of the original Greek of the first thirty-two chapters will be recorded below; now the Beatty-Michigan papyrus has added chapter xcvii, 6–cvii, ending with the title "The Epistle of Enoch." Chapters cv and cviii in the Ethiopic version never formed any part of it. The work which follows was identified by Professor Campbell Bonner, of Michigan, as the homily of Melito of Sardis on the Passion, of which a few fragments have been preserved in quotations in other writers. Melito's style is scoffed at by Tertullian as "declamatory," and the present manuscript amply justifies that epithet, but he was held in high repute by others as an inspired and ecstatic preacher. By mutual arrangement between the owners of the two portions of the manuscript the editing of it has been entrusted to Professor Bonner, who has already produced the Enoch and a description (not yet the text) of the Melito.

All the Biblical texts in the Beatty collection, together with those belonging to the University of Michigan, have been published under the editorship of the present writer by Messrs Emery Walker. Complete photographic facsimiles of most of them have also been published, and the remainder will follow as soon as the mounting of the fragments (often a delicate matter) has been completed.

It will be seen from the catalogue just given that the Chester Beatty collection makes a very substantial contribution to the Septuagint in the books of the Pentateuch and the Prophets and to nearly all the books of the New

Testament. It presumably represents the library of some Christian Church or community in the fourth or early fifth century. The exact place of discovery is unknown, for native diggers seldom reveal the source of their discoveries; but it has been variously stated as the Fayum or (with somewhat more definiteness) as in the neighbourhood of Aphroditopolis, on the opposite side of the Nile. Such a discovery raises one's hopes of future possibilities.

Two discoveries, small in size, but interesting by reason of their exceptional age, remain to be mentioned. They were the result of a thorough examination by Mr C. H. Roberts, of St John's College, Oxford, of the papyri belonging to the John Rylands Library at Manchester. One, found among a miscellaneous lot bought by Grenfell for the Library in 1920, but evidently never examined by him, is a tiny scrap, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, from a codex, containing a few words of the Gospel of St John (xviii, 31–33, 37–38) in a hand of the first half of the second century. Even so small a scrap is proof of the existence of the whole manuscript, and shows that a codex of the Fourth Gospel was circulating in mid-Egypt before the middle of the second century. It thus confirms the evidence, quoted previously (p. 217), for the traditional date of that Gospel.

The other Rylands discovery was made among some fragments of mummy cartonnage acquired from natives in Egypt by Professor Rendel Harris in 1917. Mummy cartonnage was made up of scraps of any papyrus that might be handy, and these particular pieces included a few verses of the *Iliad*, some other unidentified literary morsels, and some demotic writings which can be assigned on palæographical grounds to the century 180–80 B.C. With these were small fragments from at least four different columns of a roll containing the book of Deuteronomy, which alike from its own writing and from the evidence of the demotic texts accompanying it can be assigned with confidence to the second century B.C. This is, therefore,

the oldest manuscript of any part of the Greek Bible at present known to exist, written within a century or a little more of the date at which the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch was first produced. The fragments include about fifteen verses from Deuteronomy xxiii–xxviii, in a text similar in character to that of the Chester Beatty Deuteronomy papyrus, and agreeing rather with the Codex Alexandrinus than with the Vaticanus.

The two Rylands papyri have been edited by Mr Roberts in two separate booklets (1935 and 1936) as well as in the third volume of the Catalogue of the Rylands papyri, which also contains some less important Biblical fragments and an interesting leaf from an early third-century copy of the apocryphal Gospel of Mary, a work emanating from the Gnostic Christians.

A special department of the contributions made by the papyri to Biblical studies is constituted by those which contain the Coptic versions of the Scriptures. Coptic is the old Egyptian language written in the Greek alphabet, supplemented by six characters to represent sounds not used in Greek. The earliest traces of this writing appear in the second century, and by about the end of that century it seems to have been applied to producing a version of both Testaments for the use of native Christians. There are two principal dialects of Coptic, one known as Bohairic and used in Lower Egypt, the other as Sahidic and used in Upper Egypt. The Sahidic version seems to have been the earlier, probably because a translation was first needed in places at a distance from Alexandria; on the other hand, the influence of Alexandria eventually gave predominance to the Bohairic, which became the official Bible of Coptic Egypt. The result is that Sahidic Bibles disappeared, and until the coming of the age of papyrus discoveries the Sahidic version was only known in fragments. Now, however, the whole of the New Testament and large portions of the Old have been recovered.

Prominent among these discoveries is a codex acquired

by the British Museum in 1911, containing a rather curious combination of books, Deuteronomy, Jonah, and Acts, which by the help of a Greek colophon written in a known type of hand can be securely assigned to the fourth century. Other substantial manuscripts are a complete Psalter of the seventh century acquired by the British Museum in 1898, portions of other Psalters in the Freer Library and at Berlin, and sixty-two leaves in the British Museum with portions of the Sapiential Books; while of the New Testament there is a nearly complete fourth-century manuscript of the Gospel of St John, found by the late Mr J. L. Starkey in 1923 in a pottery vessel among the ruins of a house in the neighbourhood of Assiout, and now in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Mr Chester Beatty has manuscripts of St John and the Pauline Epistles, datable about A.D. 600; and Mr Pierpont Morgan has a large collection of Coptic Biblical manuscripts, mostly of about the ninth century. From all these materials the late Mr G. Horner was able to produce a complete edition of the Sahidic New Testament (1911, etc.), and the full character and value of this very early version has for the first time become fully known. The general result is to show that it, no less than the Bohairic, usually supports the type of text found in the Vatican and Sinaitic codices, a type of which, on this evidence, the home is probably to be looked for in Egypt.

Finally mention must be made of a small number of Hebrew papyri. In 1902 a small fragment was acquired by Mr W. L. Nash, and presented to the Cambridge University Library. It was originally assigned on palæographical grounds to the second century after Christ, but has recently been put back by W. F. Albright to the second century B.C. It contains the Ten Commandments, in a form nearer to Deuteronomy v, 6–21, than to the version in Exodus, and it transposes the sixth and seventh Commandments, as in the Codex Vaticanus and in Luke xviii, 20. The Commandments are followed by the *Shema* ("Hear, O Israel,"

etc., Deut. vi, 4 ff.), prefaced, as in the Septuagint (but not in the Massoretic Hebrew text), by the words, "These are the statutes and the judgments which Moses commanded the children of Israel when they came out of the land of Egypt." This small piece of evidence tends to support the view that the Septuagint sometimes represents an earlier form of Hebrew text than that which, having been fixed by the Jews shortly after the fall of Jerusalem, has alone been handed down in Hebrew manuscripts.

Another striking discovery was a group of papyri found at Elephantiné (at the First Cataract) in 1903. These are documents written in Aramaic, relating to a settlement of Jews at this spot in the fifth century B.C., perhaps the descendants or successors of the Jewish mercenaries employed by Psammetichus II in his war against Ethiopia about 595 B.C. They can hardly have come much later than this, for they seem to have been ignorant of the Law, even in the form in which it appears in Deuteronomy. They have a Temple of their own, which they ask their brethren in Palestine to help them to restore after it had been sacked in an anti-Jewish pogrom; and they worship other gods in addition to Yahweh—Anath-Bethel, Anath-Yahu, and Ashimah. There is nothing specially surprising in this, for we know from the books of Kings that the worship of other gods than Yahweh was rife in the time of Josiah; and Jeremiah denounces the Jews, dwelling in Egypt, who burned incense to the queen of heaven, even as their fathers, their kings and princes, had done in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem (Jer. xliv, 17). It is also worth noting that among these papyri is a portion of an Aramaic version of the great Behistun inscription of Darius (see p. 33), showing how it was circulated in the most distant provinces of the Persian Empire in the local languages of the peoples. An order of Darius for the observance of the Feast of Unleavened Bread is also quoted, which may be compared with the ordinance of Artaxerxes in Ezra vii, 11–26. It is hardly to be supposed that the Persian kings

took much interest in the details of Jewish ritual; in each case no doubt they merely authorized a decree which the Jewish leaders procured to be put before them. The Elephantiné papyri also mention that Sanballat, known to us as the opponent of Nehemiah, was still governor of Samaria in 408 B.C., and that Johanan was High Priest in Jerusalem. It is a curious episode which these papyri reveal to us of an unorthodox community of Jews living on the farthest frontiers of Egypt at the end of the fifth century.

There is no reason to suppose that the tale of discoveries of papyri is yet complete, but already they have made most valuable and substantial contributions to our knowledge of the textual history of the Bible.

CHAPTER X

OTHER MANUSCRIPTS

To complete the story of discovery mention should be made of a number of manuscripts, written neither on clay nor on papyrus, which have come to light of late years and have added materially to our knowledge of the Bible and of the studies allied to it. Most of these discoveries were the result, not of excavation, but of research in out-of-the-way libraries; but whether or not the epithet 'archæological' is properly to be applied to them (and it is not clear why it should not be applied to a discovery in a library above ground as well as to one in the remains of a library below ground), some account of them will probably be acceptable in order to complete the picture of the accessions made to Biblical knowledge within the last century.

The Codex Sinaiticus

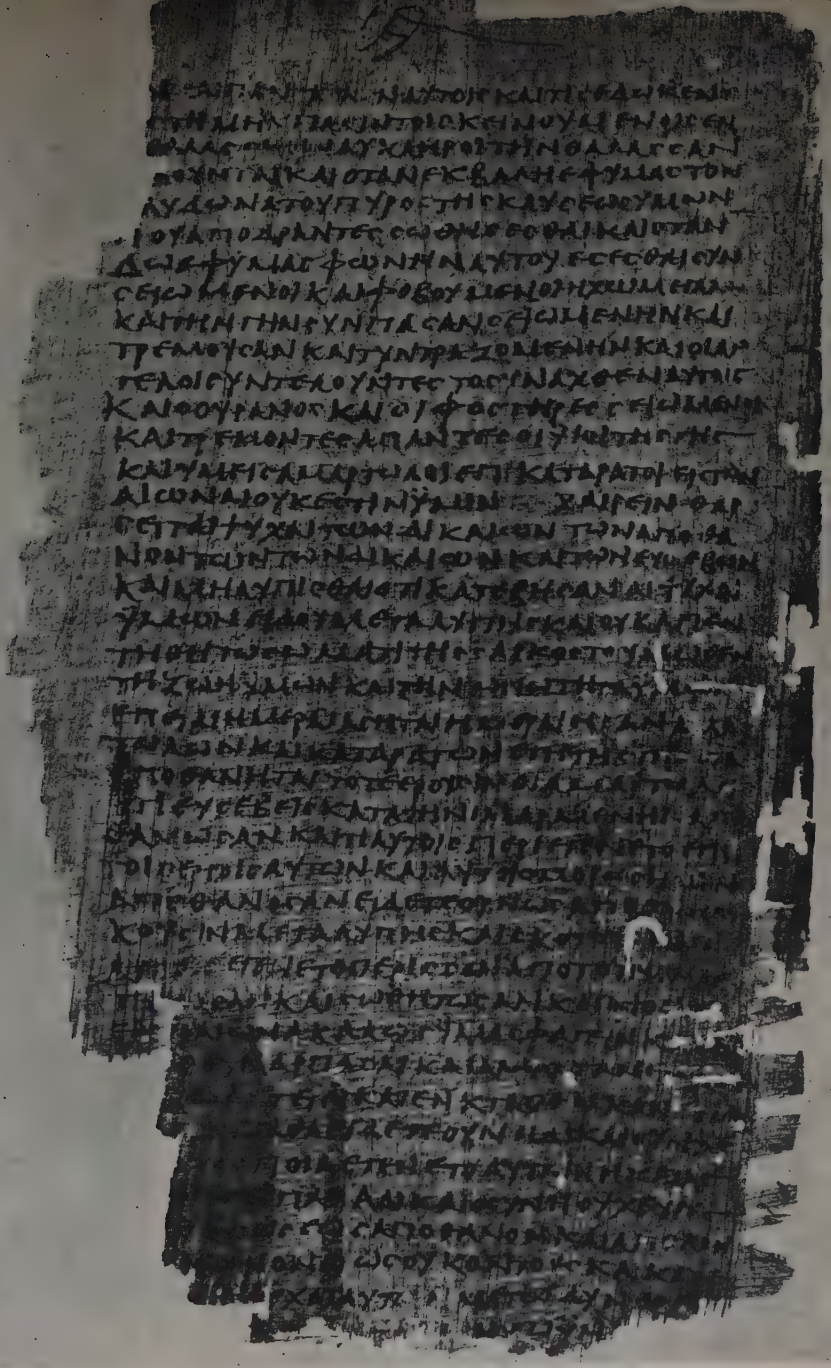
The most famous discovery of a manuscript of the Bible is without doubt that of the Codex Sinaiticus in 1859. This was brought so much to the front when the manuscript passed into the possession of the British Museum in 1933 that it need only be briefly recapitulated here. In 1844 a young German scholar, Constantin Tischendorf, was travelling in the East in search of manuscripts of the Greek Bible, and came to the monastery of St Catherine at the foot of Mount Sinai. Here he chanced to observe a number of vellum leaves in a basket, the contents of which he was informed were destined for the monastery furnaces. The writing on them was older in appearance than any he had ever seen, and he soon recognized that they contained portions of the Septuagint. Forty-three leaves he extracted and was allowed to keep; but when he inquired further

and ascertained that some eighty more leaves existed, containing portions of Isaiah and Maccabees, the monks began to realize that these were something of value, and he could obtain no more of them. The forty-three leaves, however, he took away, and presented to his patron, King Frederick Augustus of Saxony. They contain portions of 1 Chronicles, 2 Esdras, Tobit, and Jeremiah, and are now in the University Library at Leipzig, under the title of Codex Friderico-Augustanus.

In 1853 Tischendorf returned to Mount Sinai, but could hear nothing of the leaves which he had seen in 1844, and supposed they had been sold to some other visitor. He paid a third visit in 1859, and on the last day of his stay, as he was showing the steward of the monastery his latest edition of the Septuagint, the steward observed that he had a copy of the Septuagint which he would like to show him. Thereupon he produced a heap of loose leaves, wrapped in a silk napkin; and there Tischendorf beheld, not only 199 more leaves of the Old Testament, but the entire New Testament, with the Epistle of Barnabas and part of the Shepherd of Hermas, on 148 leaves, making in all 347 leaves of the finest vellum, written in a beautiful uncial hand, with four columns to the page, except in the poetical books of the Old Testament, which are written in two broad columns to the page, to correspond better to the versification (Plate XXIX). After much negotiation, the details of which need not be repeated here, Tischendorf persuaded the monks to present the manuscript to the Tsar of Russia, whose favour as patron of the Greek Church they desired to secure in connexion with the election of a new archbishop.[1] The manuscript accordingly passed to St Petersburg, where it remained until

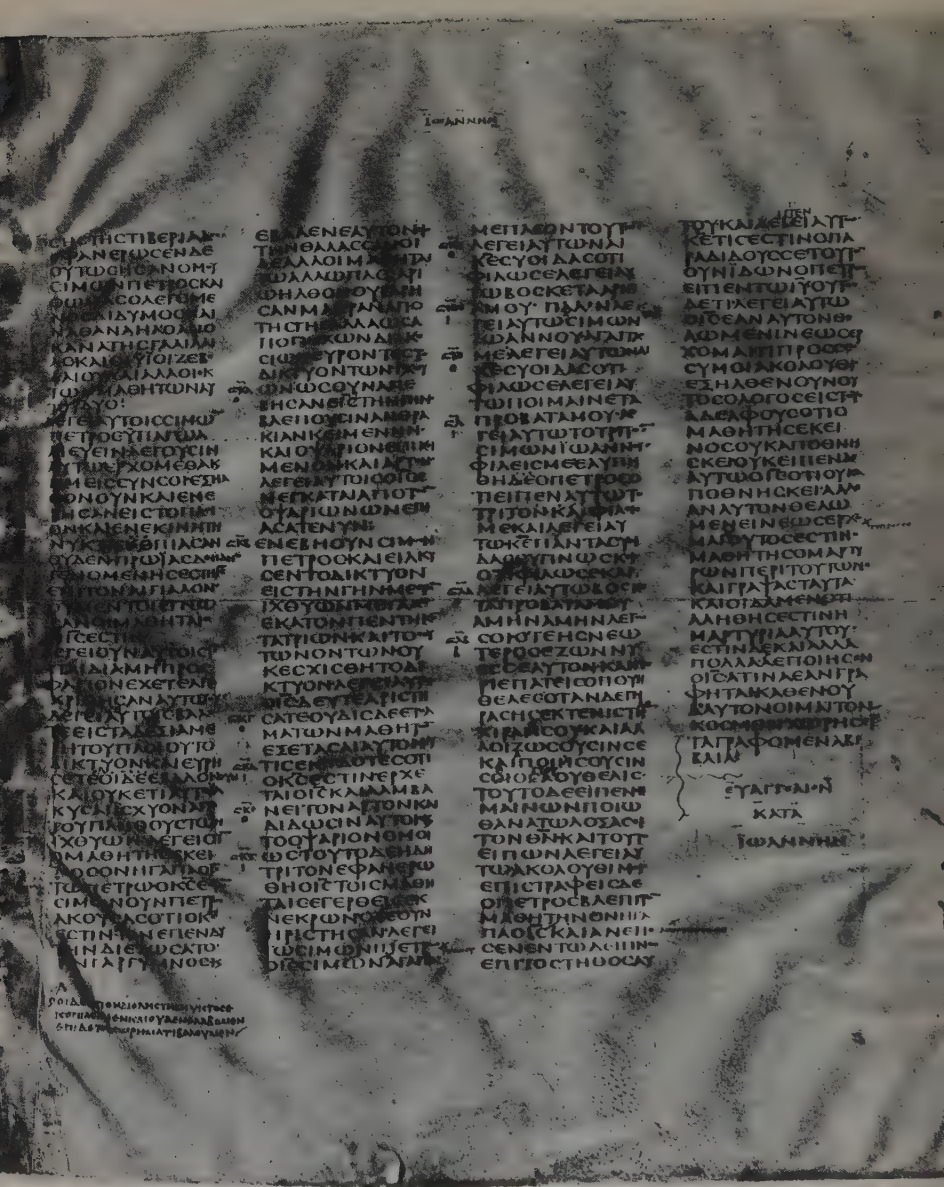
[1] The full story of the negotiations is set out in a pamphlet issued by the Trustees of the British Museum (*The Mount Sinai Manuscript of the Bible*, 1934). The main points, which cannot be too often repeated, are, first, that Tischendorf behaved quite correctly throughout; next, that he secured for the monastery a return gift of money (9000 roubles) and decorations; and, finally, that he remained on good terms with the Sinai community to the end of his life.

PLATE
XXVIII



CHESTER BEATTY ENOCH PAPYRUS
Photo Emery Walker

PLATE XXIX



CODEX SINAITICUS
British Museum

the Soviet Government resolved to sell it, and (after negotiations with America had broken down for political reasons and from the financial crisis in that country) it was acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum, with substantial help from the Government and public contributions, for the sum of £100,000, and passed into their possession at Christmas 1933.

The Codex Sinaiticus belongs probably to the first half of the fourth century, being therefore about a hundred years older than the Codex Alexandrinus (also now in the British Museum), which since its arrival in England in 1627 had been the oldest manuscript generally known. The only rival of the Sinaiticus is the Codex Vaticanus, of the same date, which, though it had been used for the edition of the Septuagint issued by Pope Sixtus V in 1587, had not been used for the New Testament and had been practically inaccessible to scholars for the previous half-century. It was the publication of the Sinaiticus in 1862 and of the Vaticanus (based on a hurried collation) by Tischendorf in 1867 which finally convinced scholars that a new edition of the Greek New Testament must be prepared, to replace that of Stephanus in 1550, based on a few late manuscripts, which had hitherto been the only Greek text generally printed, and which was the text translated in the Authorized Version of 1611. The Vatican and the Sinaitic manuscripts became accordingly the principal authorities on which the Cambridge scholars Westcott and Hort based their Greek text, published in 1881, and also for the English Revised Version, which was issued in the same year. The discovery of the Chester Beatty and other papyri, described in the previous chapter, has given us earlier witnesses for considerable parts of the Bible text, but the Vaticanus and Sinaiticus still remain our principal authorities, dating from the time when Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire, and when vellum superseded papyrus as the principal material for books. The bearing of the later discoveries on the text represented by them will be

considered in Chapter XII, but the discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus remains the basis of the modern era of the textual criticism of the Greek Bible.

A comic episode was connected with its appearance. An ingenious Greek, Constantine Simonides, had been in England trying to sell manuscripts, among which, together with several unimpeachable medieval vellum volumes, were sheets of papyrus with amazing texts, such as a lost Greek historian of Egypt named Uranius, a manuscript of St Matthew written fifteen years after the Crucifixion, and first-century fragments of the Epistles of James and Jude. The Biblical texts were sold to a Liverpool gentleman, and may still be seen in the Mayer collection belonging to the University. Wilhelm Dindorf undertook to edit the Uranius, and some sheets had actually been printed at the Oxford University Press when some German scholars called attention to suspicious features about it, and ultimately it was shown to be a manifest forgery. Now, among the scholars who had taken part in this exposure was Tischendorf; so when the world was acclaiming his discovery of the Sinaiticus Simonides blandly announced that he had written it himself, having copied it at Mount Athos in 1840 from a Bible printed at Moscow. The story would not hold water for a moment. He could not have obtained 350 large leaves of the peculiarly fine ancient vellum of which the manuscript is composed, let alone the 720 leaves which would have been required for the complete manuscript; no Moscow (or any other) edition exists with the same text; in 1840 Simonides was only fifteen years of age; six months (the alleged period) would not have sufficed for so large a work; and it is inconceivable that any one man could have produced a manuscript which shows at least three distinct scribes and several correctors, or could have invented the variant readings found in the text. The story remains as one of the curiosities of literature, and is only worth repeating as such.

The Apology of Aristides

The Codex Sinaiticus is not the only discovery made in the monastery of St Catherine. In 1889 a young Cambridge scholar, Mr J. Rendel Harris, now a veteran with a series of publications to his credit ranging over a period of five-and-fifty years, found in its library a Syriac translation of the Apology of Aristides, a defence of Christianity mentioned by Eusebius, who says that it was addressed to the Emperor Hadrian in the year 125. The address in the Syriac version, however, is to Antoninus Pius, one of whose names was Hadrianus, which would bring down its date to the years 138–161, probably early in that period. It is an eloquent eulogy of Christianity, exposing the failures of the barbarians, the Greeks, and the Jews to realize the true nature of God, and drawing a striking picture of the character and conduct of the Christian community. There is no precise quotation from the Gospels, but reference is made to "the writings of the Christians," and the main points of the Christian creed are summarized.

This discovery led in a most curious way to another. The Syriac text was being printed in a Cambridge series of "Texts and Studies," the editor of which was Mr Armitage Robinson, afterwards Dean in succession of Westminster and Wells. Mr Armitage Robinson chanced to be reading, in a totally different connexion, the well-known medieval romance *Barlaam and Josaphat*. In the course of that romance, which was written in the seventh or eighth century, one of the characters delivers a speech in praise of Christianity before an Indian ruler; and in this speech Mr Robinson was amazed to find the very words of the Apology of Aristides. The author of the romance had merely appropriated the Apology, which exactly suited his purpose; and in this way he had preserved the Greek original of which the Sinai manuscript was a Syriac translation. Thus one of the earliest Christian works of the post-Apostolic period was recovered.

But this is not quite the whole story. In 1922 the British Museum acquired two conjoint leaves of a papyrus codex of the fourth century, one of which contained part of the Song of Solomon (v, 12–vi, 10) and the other part of the Apology of Aristides (chapter xv) in Greek. The value of this is that it helps to decide the question whether the Syriac version or the Greek text as incorporated in *Barlaam* is the most trustworthy. There are considerable differences between them, the Syriac being longer than the Greek. The evidence of the new fragment is in favour of the Syriac, and it seems probable that the author of *Barlaam*, while appropriating the work of Aristides for his own purposes, condensed it somewhat. It will be safer, therefore, unless further evidence turns up, to depend rather on the Syriac text.

The Sinaitic Syriac Palimpsest

Mr Rendel Harris was followed at Sinai in 1892 by two Cambridge sisters, Mrs Lewis and Mrs Gibson, who employed themselves in searching for and photographing Bible manuscripts, especially in Syriac. Among others they noticed a palimpsest—a manuscript, that is, in which the original writing has been washed or scraped off in order to receive another text. The obliteration of the original text is seldom complete, and valuable texts have not infrequently been recovered from such palimpsests. In this case it was possible to discern that the underlying text was the Gospels, and it was accordingly photographed. When the photographs were examined at Cambridge by Professor R. L. Bensly and Mr (afterwards Professor) F. C. Burkitt they realized that the Gospel text was not the ordinary Syriac translation, known as the Peshitta (which is now known to have been the work of Bishop Rabbula of Edessa in 411–435), but an older version, previously known only from a single imperfect copy in the British Museum. The British Museum manuscript

had been acquired from a monastery in the Nitrian desert in Egypt in 1842, and published by Dr Cureton in 1858. The Sinai palimpsest, though still imperfect, was rather less so than the Curetonian, and about three-fourths of the Gospel text was recoverable. It was evidently substantially the same version, but in a rather earlier stage, the Curetonian showing some signs of revision in the direction of the text which was gradually becoming established as the received text of the Byzantine Church.

The old Syriac version, the origins of which go back to about the end of the second century, is a very valuable witness to the text of the New Testament, or rather of the Gospels, since it is only for them that it is extant. In many places it differs markedly from the type of text represented by the Vaticanus and Sinaiticus. In some it approaches the type represented by the Codex Bezæ. The general effect of its evidence will be considered in a later chapter.

The Diatessaron of Tatian

Yet another witness, closely connected with the Syrian Church, has come to life within our period. It was known from Eusebius that one Tatian had composed a harmony of the four Gospels which went by the name of Diatessaron, a musical term denoting a harmony of four elements. It was known also that it circulated widely in the Syrian Church, almost to the exclusion of the separate Gospels. Tatian was an Assyrian by birth, who became a disciple of Justin Martyr at Rome, where he wrote an Apology for Christianity; but after Justin's death in 165 his extremely ascetic opinions were condemned as heretical, and he returned to his native land, where he died about 180. The Diatessaron, however, had completely disappeared, and when, in the seventies of the last century, an acute controversy was raging as to the date of the canonical Gospels, in which their defenders referred to it as proving that by the third quarter of the second century the four

Gospels were recognized as the authoritative record of our Lord's life, a leading advocate on the other side (in an anonymous work called *Supernatural Religion*) declared not only that there was no proof that the Diatessaron was a harmony of the four canonical Gospels, but even that there was no certainty that it ever existed. Eusebius's reference to it was rather vague, and he did not seem to have seen the work himself. It was not until 1880 that an American scholar, Dr Ezra Abbot, pointed out that conclusive evidence on this point had long been available. So far back as 1836 the Armenian fathers of the Mechitarist monastery in Venice (where Byron had studied Armenian) had published an Armenian version of a commentary on the Diatessaron by St Ephraem of Syria, who died in 373. Armenian being an unknown tongue to most Western scholars, this discovery remained unnoticed, and even the issue by the Mechitarists of a Latin translation in 1876 failed to attract the attention of anyone before Dr Abbot. The discovery, which was decisive as to the existence and general character of the work, stimulated further inquiry, and before long two copies of an Arabic version of the Diatessaron itself came to light, one in Rome and one in Cairo, from which the text was published by Ciasca in 1888.

The Diatessaron being thus recovered, it appeared that it had never been wholly lost. In the sixth century Bishop Victor of Capua found a Harmony of the Gospels in Latin, the Gospel text being (apparently) that of the Old Latin version. He guessed that it was the work referred to by Eusebius, and he had it transcribed in a copy still extant in the Abbey of Fulda, written in the years 541–46. Unfortunately he had a Vulgate text substituted for that which he found in his exemplar, so that the Codex Fuldensis is only evidence for the arrangement of the Diatessaron, not for its text. More lately a Dutch translation was found in 1923 at Liége by Dr D. Plooij, which seems to have been made from a Latin manuscript in which the Old Latin text was preserved.

We now, therefore, know the Diatessaron, but only through the medium of Arabic, Armenian, Latin, and Dutch versions, the accuracy of which it is hard to prove. We do not even know what its original language was. It certainly circulated mainly in Syriac, and some scholars have maintained that this was its original form, having been compiled by Tatian after he left Rome. On the other hand, it is argued that its title is Greek, that the existence of a Latin version is more explicable if it was composed in Rome than if it was composed in Syria, that its text is akin to the Western type, and that it never fell under suspicion of heresy, as it would have done if produced after Tatian left Rome. On these grounds it seems probable that Tatian compiled his Harmony in Rome and in the Greek language, that he took it with him to Syria, and, finding no vernacular version of the Gospels in use there, translated his own work into Syriac, which proved so popular that the subsequent translation of the separate Gospels which we know as the Old Syriac had only a precarious existence, until both were superseded by the Peshitta, which became the Authorized Version of the Syrian Church.

One little piece of evidence has come to light in these last years, unfortunately not decisive. In the ruins of a Roman fortress at a place called Dura-Europus, on the Euphrates, an American excavation directed by Professor Rostovzev, of Yale, discovered a number of papyrus and vellum fragments in a house which had been destroyed to strengthen the fortifications just before the final siege and capture of the place in 256. Among these, when examined at Yale in 1933, was a vellum fragment containing fourteen lines of the Diatessaron in Greek (Plate XXX). This appearance of a Greek text in the extreme corner of Syria has been claimed as a proof of a Greek origin of the work; but it is not really decisive, since Dura was both a military and a commercial post, where there must have been many residents who did not use the Syriac language. On the

other grounds stated above, however, a Greek origin appears probable. What is interesting in the Dura fragment, which contains the narrative of the intercession of Joseph of Arimathea for the body of Jesus, is that even in this small space all the four Gospels are used, with some editorial adaptation, which shows that the evidence of the Diatessaron will have to be used with caution. The discovery of a substantial portion of it, however, whether in a Greek or a Syriac text, would go far to settle one point of great interest—namely, whether Tatian was responsible, as some hold, for many of the variant readings of the Greek text which are found in early witnesses, and whether such agreements with the Western type of text as are found in the Old Syriac mean, not that the Western type was once universal in East as well as West (as some have held), but merely that the Syriac version was affected by the Western influence imported by Tatian from Rome. This is one of the outstanding problems on which further light is much to be desired.

The Teaching of the Apostles and the Second Epistle of Clement

In 1875 Archbishop Bryennius of Serræ, in Macedonia, made known to the world that he had discovered in the Jerusalem Monastery of the Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople a manuscript containing the two Clementine Epistles, including the lost ending of the Second Epistle; but it was not until eight years later that the full extent of his discovery was revealed. The manuscript, which described itself as written by the notary Leo in 1056, contains the Epistle of Barnabas (the complete Greek text of which was first found in the Codex Sinaiticus), the two Epistles attributed to Clement of Rome (both contained, but with mutilations, in the Codex Alexandrinus), and a hitherto unknown treatise, entitled "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" or "The Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles

to the Gentiles." It is commonly referred to as the Didaché, from the Greek word meaning "teaching." From the first it aroused the keenest interest, on account of the light which it seemed to throw on the early beliefs and teaching of the Christian Church, and its date, origin, and nature still remain subjects of lively discussion among scholars.

The treatise, which is of about the same length as one of the shorter Pauline Epistles, begins with a description of "The Two Ways"—the Ways of Life and Death.[1] The summary of the Way of Life is:

> Firstly thou shalt love God who made thee; secondly, thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; and whatsoever thou wouldest not have done to thyself, do not thou either to another [the negative form of the Golden Rule, which in the Codex Bezæ is inserted in the decrees of the Council of Jerusalem (Acts xv, 20, 29)].

This is followed by a number of precepts of conduct, not taken verbally from the Gospels (the Teaching being supposed to be previous to the writing of the Gospels), but consistent with them. The Way of Life is indicated more by prohibition of vices than by inculcation of virtues, and is followed by a brief list of the vices which constitute the Way of Death. This section ends with the admonition:

> See that no man lead thee astray from this Way of the Teaching, for he teacheth thee without God. For if thou canst bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect; but if thou canst not, do what thou canst.

The next section, after a brief condemnation of the eating of meat offered to idols, deals with the sacraments:

> Concerning baptism, . . . baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, in living water; but if thou have not living water, baptize into other water; and, if thou canst not in cold, in warm. But if thou have neither, pour water thrice upon the head in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

[1] The following quotations are taken from *The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, by C. Bigg (S.P.C.K., 1898).

Then prayer, quoting the Lord's Prayer with slight variations from St Matthew, then the Eucharist, the cup being mentioned before the bread, and the whole followed by a thanksgiving. Then follow instructions for the reception of apostles, prophets (with tests for false prophets), and teachers, observance of the Lord's Day, and the election of bishops and deacons (presbyters or priests are not mentioned). Finally there is a short section enjoining watchfulness for the last days, with the sound of the trumpet and the resurrection of the dead, "but not of all, but as it was said, The Lord shall come and all the saints with him. Then shall the world behold the Lord coming on the clouds of heaven."

Now the first section, the Two Ways, occurs almost complete in the Epistle of Barnabas, though with variations of order; and the whole work is incorporated, with additions, in the Apostolical Constitutions, a fourth-century work for the instruction of the Syrian Church, and in the Apostolic Church Ordinances, a similar work of rather earlier date for the Egyptian Church. There are also some coincidences with the Shepherd of Hermas. The relations between the Didaché and these works, and consequently its date, have been the subject of much difference of opinion among scholars of the first rank. The prevalent view at first was that the Two Ways was a Jewish manual, embodied with slight modifications in Barnabas and the Didaché. Some (for example, Dr C. Taylor, and J. V. Bartlet in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*) assign Barnabas to a date soon after A.D. 70, and suppose that the full Didaché, including the sections on Church order and the eschatological conclusion, was in being before A.D. 100, the parallels with Hermas being due to later interpolation. Harnack, accepting the hypothesis of an original Jewish Two Ways, assigns the Didaché to the reign of Hadrian (117–138). Dr Armitage Robinson, on the other hand, rejects the hypothesis of a Jewish manual, and believes that the whole treatise was an imaginative

attempt, written about 140–160 or possibly later, and making use of Barnabas and Hermas, to recreate the conditions under which the Apostles had preached the Gospel a century before. This would explain the difficulty which the advocates of an early date have found in assigning any probable locality or circumstances in which it could have originated. Finally, and quite exceptionally, Dr C. Bigg argues that the Didaché is later than the Church Ordinances —not earlier, therefore, than the fourth century—and probably the product of some small Montanist community, familiar with bishops and deacons but not with presbyters, and to whom prophets, and still more apostles, were a vague tradition. This rather underrates the amount of space devoted to prophets.

Dr Bigg's extreme view has not found acceptance, but Dom Conolly agrees that the treatise shows signs of Montanism, and would assign it to the end of the second century, allying himself, therefore, with Armitage Robinson. On the other hand, the latest writer on the subject, Professor J. M. Creed, rejects all the arguments for a connexion with Montanism; he does not rule out, though he does not definitely accept, dependence on an early Two Ways document; he thinks the Didaché *may* be dependent on both Barnabas and Hermas, which would admit of a date about 120–125; but he would prefer an earlier date, about the turn of the century, when the administration of apostles, prophets, and teachers was gradually passing to that of bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The mention of apostles is slight, and the memory of them is fading out; that of prophets is fuller, and they are evidently still in existence; presbyters, on the other hand, are not known, but the election of bishops and deacons is a matter of importance.

There the matter must be left for the present. Neither the view that would put back the treatise well into the first century nor that which would relegate it to the middle of the fourth century is likely to establish itself; but there is still a difference of opinion between those who would place

it as early as possible in the second century and regard it as reflecting a real stage in the evolution of Church order, and those who would carry it down to the second half of that century and regard it as an antiquarian attempt to reconstitute, from tradition or imagination, a state of affairs which had passed away for a century. The one view is confronted by the difficulty of showing that such a stage of Church order ever existed, the other by the difficulty of finding a motive for such an antiquarian attempt.

It remains only to add that Bryennius's discovery restored for the first time the conclusion of the Second Epistle of Clement, which is wanting in the Codex Alexandrinus. It had long been recognized that the attribution of this work to Clement of Rome was wrong, and that it should be assigned rather to the middle of the second century. The Constantinople manuscript showed further that it is not an epistle, but a homily, concluding, "So then, my brethren and sisters, now that ye have heard the words of the God of truth, I read unto you an exhortation, that ye may give heed unto the things that have been written." The homily is noteworthy for its quotations of the words of our Lord, some of them uncanonical:

> I came not to call the righteous, but sinners. [Matt. ix, 13.]
>
> Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father. [Matt. x, 32.]
>
> Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall be saved, but he that doeth righteousness. [Matt. vii, 21.]
>
> The Lord saith, Ye shall be as sheep in the midst of wolves. Peter answered and said, What if the wolves shall tear in pieces the sheep? Jesus said unto Peter, Let not the sheep fear the wolves after death. And ye also, fear not those that kill you, and after that have no more that they can do unto you; but fear him who after you are dead hath power to cast both soul and body into the Gehenna of fire. [*Cf.* Matt. x, 16; Luke xii, 4, 5.]
>
> No servant can serve two masters. [Luke xvi, 13.]
>
> For what is the profit, if a man gain the whole world, and lose his soul? [Matt. xvi, 26.]

For the Lord saith in the Gospel, If ye have not kept that which is little, who will give you that which is great? For I say unto you that he that is faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much. [*Cf.* Luke xvi, 10.]

We shall receive the promises which ear hath not heard nor eye seen, neither hath it entered into the heart of man. [1 Cor. ii, 9.]

For the Lord Himself, being asked by some one when His kingdom shall come, said, When the two shall be one, and that which is without as that which is within, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.

God saith, There is no thanks to you if you love them that love you, but there is thanks to you if you love your enemies and them that hate you. [*Cf.* Luke vi, 32 ff.]

Almsgiving therefore is beautiful, as a repentance from sin. Fasting is better than prayer, but almsgiving is better than both; but charity covereth a multitude of sins. [1 Pet. iv, 8.]

The last two passages are from the portion of the homily recovered in the Bryennius manuscript, which completes our knowledge of an interesting early Christian document. By a curious coincidence a Syriac translation of both the genuine First Epistle of Clement and of the homily turned up a few months after the announcement of Bryennius's discovery, and was acquired by the Cambridge University Library. In this manuscript the Clementine Epistles are placed after the Catholic and before the Pauline Epistles, and are divided into lections for reading in church.

The Book of Enoch

The next discovery to be mentioned is archæological in the more usual sense, being the result of excavational research. In 1886 the French Archæological Mission at Cairo, in the course of excavating a cemetery at Akhmim, in Upper Egypt, discovered a small vellum volume of thirty-three leaves containing Greek theological works (Plate XXX). The discoverers were not unduly excited about it, for it was not until 1892 that M. Bouriant issued the volume which first brought it to the knowledge of the

world. The place of honour was given to a large portion of the Book of Enoch, the Greek original of which was then unknown. This book was naturally well known by name, from having been quoted in the Epistle of Jude; but except for some fairly extensive quotations by the Greek author Syncellus it was regarded as lost until the well-known traveller James Bruce brought back from Abyssinia in 1773 three manuscripts of an Ethiopic translation, one of which was published by Archbishop Laurence in 1821. The Akhmim discovery, which included the first thirty-two chapters of the work, was, therefore, a very welcome event; and to this has more recently been added, as narrated earlier (p. 224), the last eleven chapters from one of the Chester Beatty papyri.

The Book of Enoch is an outstanding example of the Apocalyptic literature which came into existence in the last two centuries before the Christian era, and of which we have examples in our Bible in the latter part of Daniel and the Second Book of Esdras in the Apocrypha. It is a composite work, but scholars differ as to the divisions, and also as to the dates to which the several portions should be assigned. It is pre-Christian, and parts of it are probably pre-Maccabean; and it was written in Northern Palestine. Its title, as given in the opening words, is "The words of the blessing of Enoch, wherewith he blessed the elect righteous, who shall continue unto the day of tribulation for the removal of all enemies, when the righteous shall be saved." The title at the end of the Chester Beatty fragment is "The Epistle of Enoch," but as the work is certainly composite, and neither the papyrus nor the Akhmim manuscript ever contained the whole of it, it is impossible to say to what part these titles apply. It begins with a vision of Enoch, in which he speaks of the judgment to come. It is from this utterance that the quotation in Jude is taken:

> And with the righteous he shall make peace, and upon the elect there shall be protection and peace, and mercy shall be upon

them, and they shall all belong to God, and he will show his goodwill to them and shall bless them all, and will take the part of all of them. And he will help us [? them] and shall make his light to shine on them and will make peace on them. For he cometh with his ten thousands and with his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to destroy all the ungodly, and to convict all flesh of all the deeds of their ungodliness which they have ungodly committed, and of the hard speeches which they have spoken, and of all the things which ungodly sinners have spoken against him.

After the poetical passage of which this is a part comes a narrative of the rebellion of the angels and their commerce with women on earth, and their condemnation in spite of their appeal to Enoch to intercede for them. Then Enoch is conducted on journeys through the underworld and to distant parts of the earth, which conclude his first vision. His second vision contains three 'parables': the first on the coming judgment of the wicked and reward of the righteous, with a vision of the heavens and their astronomical secrets; the second "concerning those who deny the name of the dwelling of the Holy Ones and the Lord of Spirits," with a vision of the Son of Man and the triumph of the righteous over the wicked, also of the resurrection of the dead, of the seven mountains of metal, and of the valley of punishment of the wicked; and the third of the blessedness of the saints. Much of this book rises to a high level of poetry. Then comes a fragment of a Book of Noah, in which Enoch foretells the Deluge and is translated to heaven; after this comes a section on the sun and the moon and the stars (in which it may be observed that the author adopts the solar year, favoured by the Sadducees, not the lunar year, which was championed by the Pharisees). Next follows a series of dream-visions, addressed to his son Methusaleh, containing a survey of the history of the world, from the fall of the angels, through the Deluge, the Exodus, the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, the Captivity, the Græco-Syrian period, the Maccabean revolt, to the New Jerusalem and the coming of

the Lamb, over whom the Lord of the Sheep rejoiced. The final section (from chapter xcii) is "the book written by Enoch for all my children who shall dwell on the earth," a series of admonitions to the righteous and prophecies of woes to sinners, ending with another fragment of the Book of Noah, describing the birth of a strange son to Lamech, and Enoch's foretelling that he shall be named Noah, and shall be preserved from the destruction that is coming on the earth.

Such is a brief outline of this strange book, which had a considerable popularity in its time.[1] It is twice quoted as Scripture in the Epistle of Barnabas; and the Chester Beatty collection shows that it was included in the library of a Christian community in the fourth century, while the Akhmim fragment is probably a century or more later.

The Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter

Bouriant in the publication of his discovery gave the primacy to the Book of Enoch, but scholars in general were far more excited about the two texts which he added as a sort of appendix, for, while the substance of Enoch was already known from the Ethiopic version, these were portions of two early apocryphal works, hitherto known only by name, the Gospel and the Apocalypse of Peter. Of the Gospel it was known from Eusebius that Serapion, Bishop of Antioch from A.D. 190 to 203, found it in circulation among the Christian community at Rhossus, in Cilicia, and at first licensed the use of it; but when, on a fuller study of it, he discovered its heretical tendencies he ordered its rejection. But no portion of its text had survived, which left a free rein to speculations, some of which would have identified it with the Gospel according to the Hebrews or the Diatessaron of Tatian, or both. The Akhmim fragment, which consists of five leaves,

[1] For a full translation (before the discovery of the Chester Beatty fragment) see *The Book of Enoch*, by R. H. Charles (S.P.C.K., 1917).

without beginning or end, written in a rather peculiar hand which is probably to be assigned to the sixth century, contains the narrative of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection; and while it is evidently based on the canonical Gospels, it has many significant variations. Here are some of them, which will serve to give an idea of the character of the whole, the outstanding features of which are its hostility to Herod and the Jews and its Docetic tendency to deny the reality of our Lord's human body:

> [The incident of Pilate's washing his hands has evidently just been mentioned.] But of the Jews none washed his hands, neither Herod nor any of His judges. And since they would not wash them, Pilate rose up. Then Herod the king commandeth that the Lord be brought, saying to them, Whatsoever I commanded you to do unto Him, do. [Joseph then asks Pilate for the Lord's body, and Pilate refers him to Herod, who promises it.] . . . And they brought two malefactors, and they crucified the Lord between them; but He held His peace, as having no pain. . . . And one of the malefactors reproached them, saying, We have suffered thus for the evils that we have done, but this man, who has become the Saviour of men, what wrong hath he done you? And they, being angered at him, commanded that his legs should not be broken, that he might die in torment. . . . And they mixed and gave Him to drink, and fulfilled all things, and accomplished their sins against their own head. And many went about with lamps, supposing that it was night, and fell. And the Lord cried out, saying, My power, my power, thou hast forsaken me. And as He said it He was taken up. And in that hour the veil of the temple of Jerusalem was rent in twain.

The description of the burial by Joseph follows:

> Then the Jews and the elders and the priests, perceiving what evil they had done to themselves, began to lament and to say, Woe for our sins; for the judgment is drawn nigh, and the end of Jerusalem. And I with my companions was grieved, and being wounded in mind we hid ourselves.

The Jews then apply to Pilate for soldiers to guard the sepulchre.

> And Pilate gave them Petronius the centurion with soldiers to watch the tomb. . . . And in the night in which the Lord's

> Day was drawing on, as the soldiers were watching two by two on guard, there was a great voice in the heaven, and they beheld the heavens opened and two men descending thence, having much light and drawing near to the tomb. And that stone which had been cast against the door rolled away of itself and departed to one side, and the tomb was opened, and both the young men entered in. When therefore those soldiers saw it they awakened the centurion and the elders (for they also were taking part in the watch); and as they related the things which they beheld, again they see three men coming forth from the tomb, and the two supporting the one, and a cross following them, and of the two the head reached unto the heaven, but of him that was led by them the head overpassed the heavens. And they heard a voice out of the heavens saying, Hast thou preached to those that sleep? and an answer was heard from the cross, Yea.

The narrative continues with the report of the centurion and his companions to Pilate, who says, "I am pure from the blood of the Son of God, but ye determined this"; but at the entreaty of the Jews he orders the soldiers to say nothing. Then comes the visit of the women to the sepulchre, where they find a young man in a bright robe, who tells them that the Crucified One is risen; and the manuscript ends imperfectly thus:

> Now it was the last day of the unleavened bread, and many departed to return to their homes, the feast being ended. But we, the twelve disciples of the Lord, were weeping and grieving, and each one grieving over that which had happened departed to his own home. But I Simon Peter and Andrew my brother, taking our nets, went away to the sea; and there was with us Levi the son of Alphæus, whom the Lord . . .

These extracts will suffice to show the nature of this early book, written probably about the middle of the second century, based upon all four canonical Gospels, but perverting their narrative in the interest of the particular sect which denied the true humanity of our Lord, and of the bitter hostility to the Jews which became intensified in the sub-Apostolic age. It is an instructive addition to our knowledge of that period, besides being

another witness to the existence and use of the canonical Gospels.

This extract from the Gospel is followed in the Akhmim manuscript by four leaves containing an extract from the Apocalypse of Peter, a work mentioned in the Muratorian Fragment (a list of canonical and non-canonical books, of about A.D. 170–200). It is quoted as "a disputed scripture" by Clement of Alexandria, and is classed by Eusebius as spurious. Nevertheless the Church historian Sozomen, in the first half of the fifth century, states that he found it to be still in use in certain churches in Palestine, where it was read on Good Friday; and it appears in two lists (sixth and ninth centuries) of books, to which are attached statements of their several lengths, estimated in terms of the standard line of thirty-six letters, which show that it was of about the same length as the Epistle to the Galatians. The Akhmim text apparently contains about half of it. The extant quotations from it, however, were few, and its character could only be guessed at. It takes the form of a revelation of heaven and hell made by our Lord to the Twelve at the conclusion of a discourse of which only the last sentences, containing a reference to false prophets whom the Lord will judge at His coming, are preserved:

> And the Lord said further, Let us go into the mountain to pray. And as we the twelve disciples went with him, we besought him that he would show us one of our righteous brethren that had departed out of the world, that we might see of what form they were, and being encouraged might encourage also those that hear us. [Then two men appear in inconceivable brightness and beauty; after which] I said unto him, And where are all the righteous, or of what sort is the world wherein they are, possessing this glory? And the Lord showed me a very great place outside this world, shining excessively with light, and the air that was there illuminated with the rays of the sun, and the earth itself blooming with unfading flowers, and full of spices and fair-flowering plants, incorruptible and bearing a blessed fruit; and so strong was the perfume that it was borne even to us from thence. And

> the dwellers in that place were clad in the raiment of angels of light, and their raiment was like their land, and angels ran round about them thither. And the glory of those that dwelt there was equal, and with one voice they praised the Lord God, rejoicing in that place.

That is all that is said of the abode of the blessed. The "place of chastisement" is described at greater length, with all the separate categories of sinners and the punishments allotted to them—some hanging by their tongues, others suspended over mire, or cast among reptiles, or plunged in blood and filth, or eaten of worms, or burned with fire. In short, we have here, not anything resembling the Apocalypse of John, but rather the prototype of those medieval visions of heaven and hell which culminated in the *Divina Commedia*, and which did so much to impress on the imaginations of men the idea of the material glories of heaven, and still more the material torments of hell.[1]

How these incomplete fragments of three early apocryphal works came to be formed into a single volume in the sixth century it is impossible to tell; but we may be glad of the chance which has restored to us substantial portions of three works which had a considerable vogue in the early Christian Church.

The Hebrew Original of Ecclesiasticus

In histories of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament mention is generally made of the rule established by the Talmudist scholars that damaged or imperfect copies of the Scriptures must be withdrawn from use. Such manuscripts, if not at once destroyed (as seems usually to have happened, which accounts for the disappearance of all

[1] The best study of the Apocalypse, with an examination of the kindred literature, is contained in a lecture by Dr M. R. James, and issued, together with a paper by Dr Armitage Robinson on the Gospel and texts and translations of both works, in the same year as the original publication of the Akhmim manuscript. The quotations given above are taken from these translations, with slight modifications.

early Hebrew manuscripts), were consigned to a *gheniza*, or lumber cupboard attached to the synagogue. It is from a source of this kind that the discoveries next to be mentioned have been derived. In 1896 Mrs Lewis and Mrs Gibson, the Cambridge ladies to whom the discovery of the Sinaitic Syriac manuscript was due, brought back from a town in the East a number of manuscript fragments, among which Dr Schechter identified one as containing a portion of the book of Ecclesiasticus in Hebrew. At about the same time nine leaves of the same manuscript were sent by Professor Sayce from Egypt to Oxford, where they were identified by Mr (afterwards Sir Arthur) Cowley and Dr Neubauer, by whom an edition of the whole was published in 1897. The leaves sent by Sayce are believed to have come from a *gheniza* in Cairo, from which some other fragments, to be mentioned presently, came at about the same time; and the Cambridge leaf, since it belongs to the same manuscript, must originally have emerged from the same source.

The book of Ecclesiasticus is known, from the prologue prefixed by the author's grandson to his Greek translation of it, to have been originally written in Hebrew. The Greek translation was incorporated in the Septuagint Old Testament, and thence passed into the Latin Bible and eventually to the English, among the books of the Apocrypha; but the Hebrew original was lost to sight. Although not accepted by the Jewish scholars as canonical, it was often quoted by the Rabbis, and Jerome expressly states that he had seen it in Hebrew, though he did not translate it. Even as late as the tenth century it is quoted by Rabbi Saadyah Gaon, leader of the Babylonian school of Rabbinic scholars; but after that time it ceases to be quoted, though the manuscript now partially recovered shows that it was still being copied at the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century.

Until the recovery of these leaves, therefore, there were no means of testing the accuracy of the Greek translation.

The author of the translation himself seems to have had qualms about it:

> Ye are intreated therefore to read with favour and attention, and to pardon us if in any parts of what we have laboured to interpret we may seem to fail in some of the phrases. For things originally spoken in Hebrew have not the same force in them when they are translated into another tongue; and not only these, but the law itself, and the prophecies, and the rest of the books, have no small difference when they are spoken in their original language.

The recovery, therefore, of a considerable sample of the Hebrew, covering chapters xxxix, 15, to xlix, 11, was of much interest to scholars. The first result that emerged was that the author, writing about 200 B.C., still used the classical Hebrew found in most of the books of the Old Testament, as opposed to the Rabbinic Hebrew, of which the beginnings are found in the book of Ecclesiastes, which is generally supposed to be somewhat earlier than Ecclesiasticus. Next it is clear that the translator's apologies were not unnecessary. In some cases he evidently misunderstood his original; in others he has, accidentally or otherwise, omitted whole lines or couplets, and so spoilt the parallelism characteristic of Hebrew verse (as we see in the Psalms), and sometimes obscured the meaning. Here are a few examples:

GREEK (*as translated in R.V.*)	HEBREW (*as translated by Cowley and Neubauer*)
xxxix, 20. He beholdeth from everlasting to everlasting;	He beholdeth from everlasting to everlasting: Is there limit to his salvation?
	There is nothing small or light with him,
And there is nothing wonderful before him.	And there is nothing too wonderful or hard for him.
xl, 18. The life of one that laboureth, and is contented, shall be made sweet;	A life of wine and strong drink is sweet,
And he that findeth a treasure is above both.	But he that findeth a treasure is above them both.

19. Children and the building of a city establish a man's name;	A child and a city establish a name,
	But he that findeth wisdom is above them both.
	Offspring [of cattle] and planting make a name to flourish,
And a blameless wife is counted above both.	But a woman beloved is above them both.
20. Wine and music rejoice the heart;	Wine and strong drink cause the heart to exult,
And the love of wisdom is above both.	But the love of lovers is above them both.
xliv, 4. Leaders of the people by their counsels,	Princes of nations in their prudence,
And by their understanding men of learning for the people;	And potentates in their care;
Wise were their words in their instruction.	Wise of meditation in their writing,
	And governing in their watchfulness.

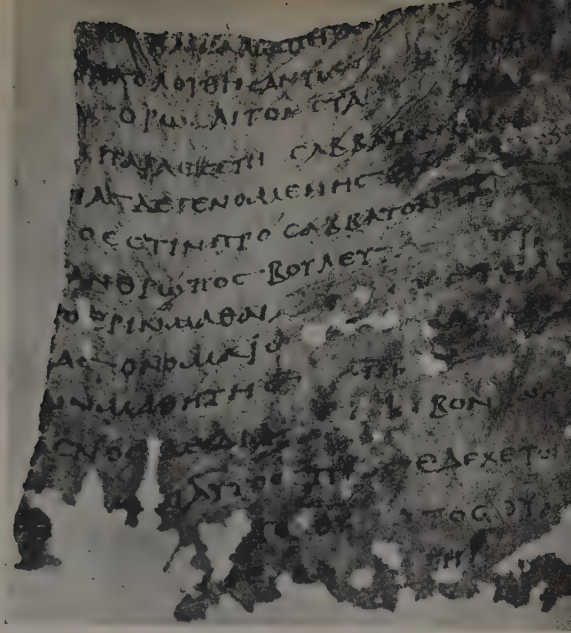
Here the alterations in xl, 18–20, are evidently deliberate, for the sake of edification, while the others would seem to be due to carelessness or lack of skill. These examples (which could be multiplied) have some bearing on the question how far variations in the Septuagint generally can safely be taken as proofs of the early existence of a Hebrew text different from the authorized Massoretic text. It is clear that such variations were sometimes due to failures in Hebrew scholarship, and perhaps sometimes to deliberate alteration; so that, while there is sometimes strong evidence that the Septuagint translators had before them a Hebrew text different from that which has come down to us, great caution is necessary before giving a general preference to their testimony.

Aquila and the Hexapla

The discovery of the Ecclesiasticus leaves led directly to other discoveries. Dr Schechter, of Cambridge, was sent out to examine the Cairo *gheniza* from which they had come, and succeeded in bringing back a considerable

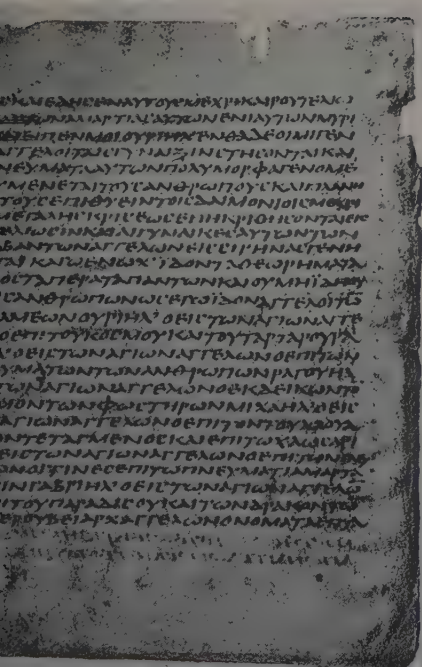
portion of its contents. Among these were three Greek leaves, which were identified by Mr F. C. Burkitt as containing portions of the books of Kings in the version of Aquila. The leaves are palimpsest, the Greek having been written in the sixth century and a Hebrew text superimposed in the eleventh. Aquila's translation of the Old Testament was made about the middle of the second century, in response to a demand for a version of the Hebrew, closely following the text adopted by the Rabbis of Jamnia at the end of the first century, which might be opposed to the Septuagint version which had been adopted and used in controversy by the Christians. Aquila's version was excessively literal, often to the extent of violating Greek grammar and idiom; but it had perished except for quotations, generally in the margins of Septuagint manuscripts. The newly discovered leaves confirmed this reputation for extreme literalness. They also vindicated the accuracy of Origen, who had stated that the Divine Name was written by Aquila in the old Hebrew characters, which for ordinary purposes had gone out of use some six hundred years before. This was found to be the case in the Cairo leaves. In this connexion it may be mentioned that a small scrap of Aquila turned up on a sheet of papyrus belonging to Lord Amherst (edited by Grenfell and Hunt in 1900), where on the back of a letter the first five verses of Genesis are transcribed both in the Septuagint version and in that of Aquila.

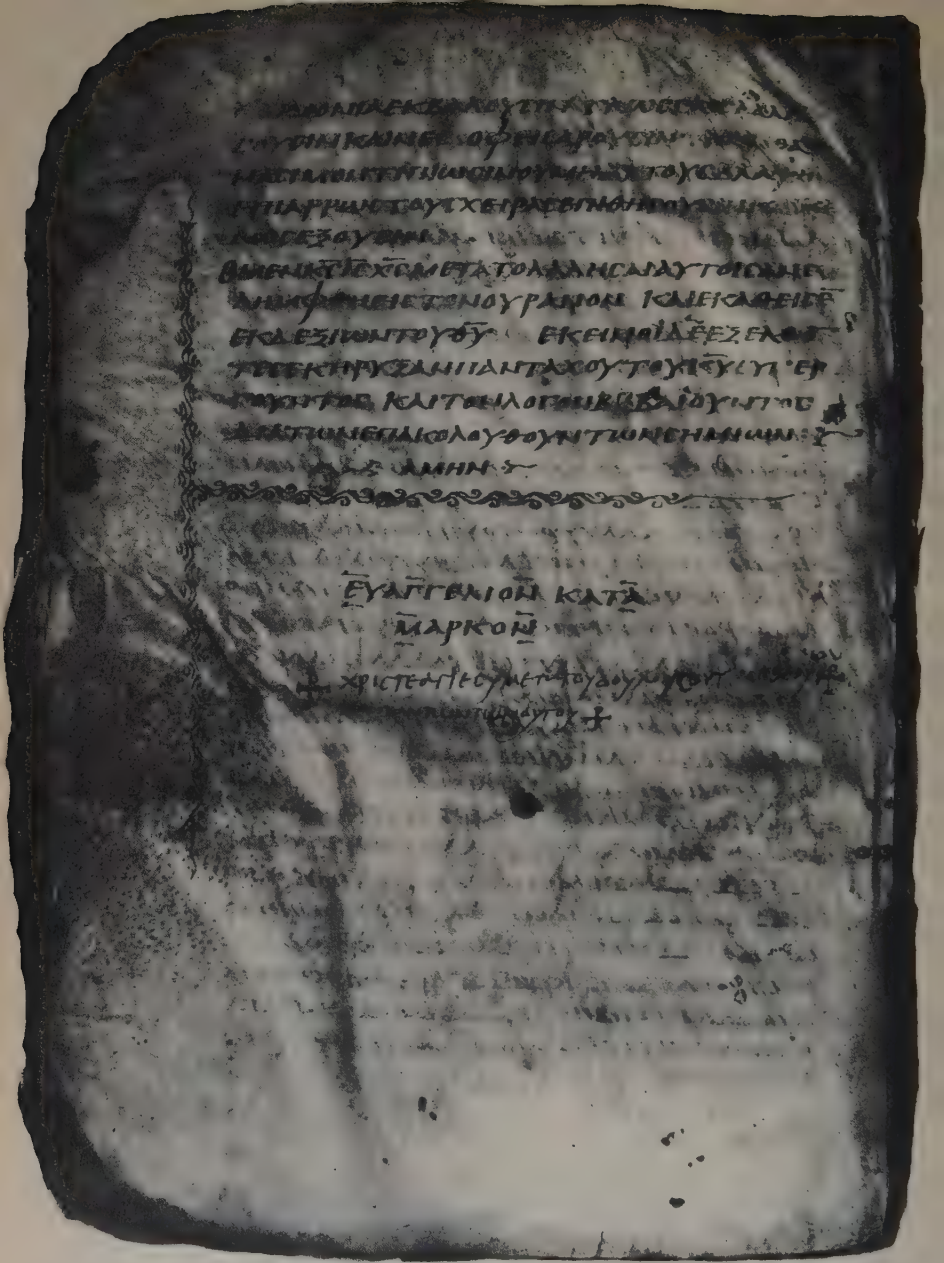
Another *gheniza* fragment contained a small portion of the work of Origen known as the Hexapla, which consisted of six versions of the whole Old Testament, giving in parallel columns (1) the Hebrew text in Hebrew characters, (2) the same transliterated in Greek characters, (3) the Greek translation by Aquila, (4) the Greek translation by Symmachus, (5) the Septuagint, (6) the Greek translation by Theodotion. The original manuscript of this colossal work was preserved at Cæsarea until the seventh century, when it probably perished in the Arab conquest of Palestine. It cannot have been often copied, if at all; but copies may



DIATESSARON FRAGMENT FROM DURA
From "Studies and Documents," vol. iii, by K. and S. Lake (Christophers)

MIM MANUSCRIPT OF ENOCH
Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo





Washington Gospels Manuscript: End of the Gospel of St Mark

Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

have been made of particular books, and of these the Psalter seems to have been one; for besides the Cairo fragment, which contains part of Psalm xxii in all six columns, a palimpsest fragment found in 1896 at Milan by Dr G. (now Cardinal) Mercati, and written about the tenth century, contains eleven psalms in five columns, the Hebrew being omitted, but a sixth column being added in which isolated readings are given from some other versions.

The Freer Manuscripts

To complete the story brief descriptions must be given of some recent discoveries of Biblical manuscripts of special importance. It must be understood that new manuscripts, especially of the New Testament, come to light from time to time; but most of them contain the standard text of the Byzantine Church in the later Middle Ages. Some of these may have interest for their ornamentation, or as evidence of liturgical usages; but for textual purposes they are only of value if they are of early date, or show signs of having escaped the revision which assimilated most manuscripts to the Byzantine standard.

The most notable addition to the manuscript authorities for the Greek Bible, apart from the papyri described in the previous chapter, was a group of four vellum manuscripts acquired in Cairo in 1906 by Mr Charles L. Freer, and now in his collection at Washington. They consisted of (1) a copy of the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua, written in the late fifth or early sixth century, with a text agreeing rather with the Alexandrinus than with the Vaticanus, and also often with the Chester Beatty papyrus; (2) a much-mutilated copy of the Psalms, assigned by its editor to the fifth century, but more probably of the sixth or seventh; (3) the Four Gospels, of the late fourth or fifth century, in a rather peculiar hand and with a text of varying character in the several books (Plate XXXI); (4) a much-mutilated copy of the Pauline Epistles, probably of the seventh

century. The most important of these is the Gospels manuscript, in which, while Matthew, most of Luke, and John as far as v, 12, are of the common Byzantine type, all the rest differs from it, but in different ways: Luke i, 1–viii, 12, and John after v, 12, being of the type found in the Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, Mark i, 1–v, 30, being of the Western type found in the Codex Bezæ and the Old Latin authorities, while the rest of Mark belongs to the type known as 'Cæsarean,' the existence of which has only become known from recent discoveries, and of which more will be said in the final chapter.

A quite special feature of the Freer Gospels is an insertion near the end of Mark, where the following passage is found after xvi, 14:

> And they answered and said, This generation of lawlessness and faithlessness is under Satan, who doth not allow the truth of God to prevail over the unclean things of the spirits; therefore make manifest thy righteousness. So spake they now to Christ, and Christ said unto them, The tale of the years of the dominion of Satan is fulfilled, but other terrible things draw near; and by reason of their sins I was delivered over unto death, that they may return to the truth and sin no more, that they may inherit the spiritual and incorruptible glory of righteousness which is in heaven.

The first part of this passage, as far as "thy righteousness," is quoted by Jerome, who says that it was found in some copies, especially Greek ones, which shows that it had some vogue, but its origin is unknown. The rest is new.

The Koridethi Gospels

Very different in appearance is the last discovery to be mentioned, a copy of the four Gospels, written in a very rough uncial hand of late type, probably in the ninth century, by a scribe with very little knowledge of Greek. It was first noticed by von Soden in 1906, but was not generally known until published by Beerman and Gregory in 1913. It formerly belonged to the monastery of Kori-

dethi, in the Caucasus, and is now at Tiflis. It is just to the fact that it was written by an ignorant scribe in an out-of-the-way part of the Greek world that it owes its interest to scholars to-day; for it has to some extent escaped being brought into conformity with the standard Byzantine text. This is notably so in Mark, where it joins with a group of minuscule manuscripts, the Freer Gospels, and the Chester Beatty Gospels papyrus, to form the family known as Cæsarean, which will be described in the final chapter.

The Odes of Solomon

Last in chronological order comes the identification in 1909 by Dr Rendel Harris, in a manuscript acquired by him in the East and now in the John Rylands Library at Manchester, of a Syriac version of the so-called Odes of Solomon, the work of a Christian mystic about the beginning of the second century, to which references are made by Lactantius and in some early lists. Out of a total of forty-two poems forty are preserved in the Rylands manuscript, and one more (the first in the collection) is recoverable from a Coptic version in the treatise known as *Pistis Sophia*. A second manuscript, containing a somewhat damaged text from the middle of Ode 17 onwards, was subsequently identified by Dr Burkitt in the British Museum. A definitive edition, edited by Rendel Harris and A. Mingana, was published by the Governors of the Rylands Library in 1920.

CHAPTER XI

ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERY AND THE OLD TESTAMENT

In the previous chapters an attempt has been made to describe the course of archæological research in Palestine and the lands adjoining it with a view to seeing what contributions have been made thereby to the study of the Bible. The treatment (except in dealing with manuscripts) has so far been topographical, with a rough chronological sequence. It is time now to try to sum up the results; and it will be convenient to take the two Testaments separately, since recent researches have affected them in quite different ways. For the Old Testament the light to be derived from archæology bears upon the composition, authority, and interpretation of the books; for the New it relates mainly to the text and its tradition.

In the case of the Old Testament it will have been seen that, as forecast in the introductory chapter, very few archæological discoveries bear *directly* on the Bible narrative. Palestine itself, for reasons set out in Chapter VIII, has produced no historical records; and the references to Palestinian history in the records of other countries are scanty, and from a different angle from that of the Hebrews. The nearest approach to an outside representation of facts recorded in the Bible is in the Assyrian documents referring to the submission of Jehu and the campaigns of Sennacherib against Jerusalem. Similarly the material remains revealed by excavation contribute little direct evidence. Jerusalem is largely inaccessible, and Samaria has been too often destroyed and rebuilt. The most definite contribution comes from Jericho, where the evidence both of its destruction and of its rebuilding harmonizes strikingly with the Old Testament narrative, and also seems to assist materially

in fixing the date of the Hebrew invasion of Palestine under Joshua. The Lachish letters give an interesting glimpse of the conditions prevailing at the time of the fall of the Kingdom of Judah, but they themselves need explanation from the Old Testament rather than contribute any new light to it.

But if the direct contribution of archæology to Bible study is somewhat disappointingly small it is quite otherwise with its indirect contribution. Here the result of the researches of the last hundred years, and especially of the last twenty or thirty, has been to provide a much enriched setting for the Bible narrative, and thereby greatly to assist our comprehension of it. It is here that some readers of the Bible find a difficulty. They are suspicious of a new setting and fear that it may in some way weaken the authority of the Bible. This, therefore, is the problem that has to be faced in the present chapter, the object of which is to show that while the setting *is* to some extent new, while our conception of the evolution of the Bible may have to be varied from that of our fathers, yet nevertheless the authority of the Bible teaching is in no way impaired, and that there is no occasion to be afraid of an objective and unprejudiced examination of the results of research.

It would indeed argue a lack of faith to think otherwise. The more firmly a student believes in the Bible, the more convinced he must be that no new facts that the spade may reveal can really be incompatible with it. They may need examination, and it is by no means to be assumed that all the inferences drawn from them by scholars are sound; but the examination may be undertaken with confidence. What has to be guarded against is the assumption that we already know all that is to be known about the Bible, and that our present conception of it is the only one consistent with its authority. The interpretation of the Bible has varied from time to time down the ages; are we *quite* certain that our view of it is the only true and possible one? At least it is surely clear that we are meant to apply all the faculties of our mind to its study; and while we should apply

them with modesty, and with a full recognition that if our forefathers have in some respects been in error we may ourselves also err, yet we cannot suppose that the full use of the intellectual faculties with which we have been endowed is essentially incompatible with the ascertainment of truth.

The very fact that so little *direct* confirmation of the Bible narrative has been derived from the intensive archæological researches of a hundred years should be evidence, to those who believe the world to be divinely ordered, that that is not the way by which we are intended to approach the truth. If compulsory instruction rather than education were intended one might have looked to find in Egypt a contemporary account by an Egyptian of the administration of Joseph or of the events attending the Exodus, or in Babylonia a copy of the decree of Nebuchadrezzar in favour of the worship of the God of Israel or the proclamation of Cyrus authorizing the rebuilding of Jerusalem. But such discoveries would be contrary to all human probability. Egypt has yielded practically no historical narratives, even about matters in which the Egyptians would have taken much more interest than the affairs of a despised tribe; and of all the administrative decrees of Assyria and Babylon scarcely a handful have survived. We must be content to apply to the material before us the same critical methods as we apply to historical evidence in other countries and with regard to other peoples, and to see whither they guide us.

One caution may, however, be interposed here. If it is uncritical to weight the balances in favour of the traditional interpretation of Scripture it is just as uncritical to weight them against it. Some critics seem to assume that any statement in the Bible is probably wrong, or, at any rate, does not mean what it appears to mean; others, that it is a sign of an enlightened intelligence to take a non-traditional view rather than a traditional. It now needs no special courage or independence of mind to be unorthodox. There were times when unorthodoxy was

likely to lead a man to the stake; now, especially on the Continent, it is more likely to lead him to a professorship. If orthodoxy may assist the advancement in the Church of a writer who is in holy orders, unorthodoxy is no less likely to assist the advancement of a layman in a German or Dutch university. It is difficult indeed to avoid weighting of balances, but it is a difficulty that applies to secular studies no less than Biblical. Anti-traditionalism always gets the more limelight, whether the subject be Homer or the Gospels; but the traditionalist may take comfort in reflecting on the number of doctrines that have been fashionable for a time and then have passed away. "I have known four-and-twenty leaders of revolts."

Let us then, as objectively and dispassionately as may be, try to estimate what contribution archæology has made to Biblical studies, not so much by way of direct evidence as by illustrative material and an increased knowledge of the setting of the Old Testament story. Here we shall find that its contribution has been indeed great, and illuminating in the best sense.

First, as most fundamental and perhaps most important of all, is the evidence as to the antiquity and wide dissemination of writing. Here the contribution of archæology has been decisive and of far-reaching effect. Within the lifetime of the present writer classical scholars such as Grote could maintain that writing was unknown to the Greeks until the seventh century at the earliest, and Biblical scholars such as Wellhausen that it was unknown to the Hebrews (except in the form of carved inscriptions) until the ninth. All information (or what purported to be such) about earlier ages could at best be nothing but oral tradition. Such conclusions were then justifiable, for at that time there was no evidence of writing at an earlier date. Now there is overwhelming evidence from all quarters. It will have been seen from the preceding chapters that writing on clay tablets was plentifully used in Mesopotamia from at least the beginning of the third

millennium B.C. In the earliest examples that have come down to us, from Kish, Ur, Erech, and other sites, it was used for legal, commercial, and business transactions—contracts, accounts, and the like; but religious and literary texts, found at Nippur and elsewhere, go back to the later centuries of that millennium, and it is evident that the culture of the Sumerians was literary to a very considerable extent. Similarly in Egypt we find ritual texts inscribed on stone as early as the Pyramid Age, and literary compositions on papyrus transcribed in extant manuscripts as early as 2000 B.C. and claiming to have been composed a thousand years earlier. We also have evidence of the use of writing in Cappadocia in the third millennium, and in Crete in the second, while the libraries of Nineveh bring down the evidence of a copious literary production to the time of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah.

More important still, for our present purpose, is the evidence of the use of writing in Syria and Palestine. The Tell el-Amarna letters show the free circulation of letters between these countries and Egypt at a date about 1400–1360 B.C., just at the time when, if the evidence of Jericho is to be accepted, the Hebrews were entering the Promised Land. To the same period belong the contents of the library of Ugarit. Both of these archives consist of writings in cuneiform script upon clay tablets, but there is evidence also (see p. 211) of the use of papyrus, not only in Egypt but in Syria, about the same time, and it is fair to conclude that it is only the perishable nature of the material that has prevented the survival of much more literature. Even Mesopotamian scribes are depicted as writing on rolls, which can only be leather or papyrus. The Amarna and Ugarit documents, however, differ in this, that the former are in the familiar Babylonian script and language, whereas at Ugarit an alphabet had been devised out of the cuneiform characters, and the language is Canaanite.

In both these respects we are coming nearer to the

Hebrew language and alphabet, and here again there is much more to add. Writing seems everywhere to have been pictographic in its origin, as is only natural, but the pictures must be translated into sounds before anything like a literature is possible, and it only becomes freely manageable when the sounds have been reduced to letters. On this invention modern literature rests, and we are now able to trace the transition in various phases. On the one hand we find at Ugarit the cuneiform characters being adapted for use as an alphabet of twenty-nine letters, and in Persia for a number not much greater. These efforts, however, did not go further, and for the alphabet which has civilized the world we have to look to that which is generally known as Phœnician.

On the parentage of the Phœnician alphabet the most various views have been held. As far back as 1839 Lenormant propounded the view that it was derived from Egyptian hieroglyphs; and this, with the modification that its direct ancestor was the Egyptian hieratic writing (itself descended from the hieroglyphs), was the theory put forward by de Rougé in 1859, and in this country by Isaac Taylor in 1883. For a time this was the accepted doctrine, but claims were subsequently made on behalf of Babylonian cuneiform, Crete, Cyprus, the Hittites, the Amorites, or the Canaanites themselves, and the Egyptian theory was temporarily out of fashion. The discovery of the Sinai inscriptions at Serabit resuscitated it in great strength, and it is now probably the predominant, though not the universally accepted, view. Some scholars have held, and some now hold, that the Phœnician alphabet was an original invention of the inhabitants of Syria, making more or less use of the various tentatives of the surrounding peoples.[1] Finally, to complete the circle, a

[1] This is substantially the view of D. Diringer, whose exhaustive study of the subject (*L'Alfabeto nella Storia della Civiltà*, Florence, 1937) gives a most useful summary of the various views and the literature containing them. He would assign the origin of the alphabet to the first half of the second millennium.

recent popular writer assigns the invention of the alphabet to Moses himself at Sinai, which is precisely the view put forward by Eupolemus in the second century before Christ.

The Sinai inscriptions seem to show just the same stage in relation to Egyptian writings as the Ugarit texts to the cuneiform, the hieroglyphic (or hieratic) characters being converted to alphabetic use, and producing a script which can legitimately be called proto-Phœnician or proto-Hebrew. The dates assigned to them by scholars vary between about 2000 and 1500 B.C. Much later than the lower date they cannot be, since the evolution has already been carried further by the time of the inscription on the Byblos sarcophagus, early in the thirteenth century, and the Lachish ewer, of about the same date. Some characters inscribed on potsherds found at Beth-shemesh and Gezer may be of even earlier date; and the Samaria ostraka, of the early ninth century, link up with the Moabite Stone, which for more than half a century from its discovery in 1868 was regarded as the earliest example of the old Hebrew writing.

In spite, therefore, of the disappearance of all documents that may have been written on papyrus (the use of which would have been familiar to the Israelites in Egypt), there is now ample evidence that writing was well known and freely used in Palestine and Syria, for literary as well as for business purposes, from the time of the entry of the children of Israel into that land under Joshua, and that writing in Hebrew characters existed there at any rate not long after that date; while in Egypt, whence they had just come, and in Mesopotamia, whence through Abraham they derived their ultimate origin and with which they were in constant contact throughout their history, writing had for all purposes been indigenous for many centuries. There is, therefore, no reason to shirk the true translation of Judges viii, 14, which says that a young man wrote down (not "described," as A.V. and R.V.) the names of the princes and elders of Succoth for Gideon. There is

no sort of reason why he should not have written the list of seventy-seven names on a sheet of papyrus. The victory of the Phœnician alphabet over the Ugarit cuneiform alphabet may have been helped by the greater ease of writing on papyrus than on clay.

The implications of these facts are obvious. So long as it was believed that writing was unknown to the Hebrews until about the ninth century it was easy to throw doubt on the trustworthiness of narratives which purported to go back five hundred years or more before that date. Either they were the inventions of an altogether later period, or, at best, they rested only upon oral tradition, the accuracy of which could not be taken for granted. When, therefore, literary criticism declared that the books of the Pentateuch are made up from a combination of once separate works, the earliest of which cannot be placed earlier than the ninth century, the authority of those books was brought into question, and the basis of the moral teaching contained in them was altered, if not shaken. The position is, however, totally different when once it is established that these books, whatever the date of their composition in their present form, may rest upon written records contemporary or nearly contemporary with the events which they describe. The problem becomes one of historical criticism, much as it is when we consider Livy's treatment of the Samnite or Punic wars, or Hume's of the Hundred Years War. The modern critic has to try to discern what sources were used and how they were used, but he no longer starts with the assumption that there were no sources at all.

So much, therefore, archæology has already done to lay the foundations for the historical criticism of the narrative books of the Old Testament. We have next to consider what literary criticism has to tell us. It has already been mentioned in the introductory chapter of this book that the literary criticism of the third quarter of the nineteenth century had laid down that the first four books of the

Pentateuch showed evident signs of being composed of three main strata, two of which (indicated by the letters J and E respectively) could be assigned to the early period of the kings, while the third (P, or the Priestly document) was much later, perhaps of the fifth century B.C. In addition, Deuteronomy (D) stands by itself as a separate document, to be assigned to the seventh century. There has been much discussion of this scheme, and endless attempts, after the manner of critics, to refine upon it, to subdivide, and to question the assignment of particular passages to one or other of these principal sources; but, on the whole, the general outline of this scheme still seems to hold good. All that can be said is that such endless variations of opinion not only discredit one another, but also tend to weaken belief in the whole scheme.

There have recently not been wanting some who would push back these dates to an earlier period, even as far as Moses himself; and it must be recognized that the situation has been changed, not only by the proof of the antiquity of written literature, but also by the knowledge that we now have of the Eastern world in general. It is, for example, no longer admissible to argue that the Mosaic Law is too minute and detailed for so early an age, for the Code of Hammurabi proves the existence of legislation no less detailed at a much earlier date in an adjoining land. Nor does the Hammurabi code stand alone. Portions of old Sumerian and later Assyrian laws have come to light, and Hittite laws are among the Boghaz-keui archives, while perhaps most notable of all are the Hurrian laws found among the tablets excavated at Kirkuk and Nuzi, which show some remarkable parallels with the Pentateuch. For example, it has been pointed out that Rachel's theft of her father's teraphim is explained by a Kirkuk tablet, which says that possession of a father-in-law's household gods gave a son-in-law title to be regarded as his legitimate heir. Hurrian law also laid down the duty of a man to marry his brother's childless widow, and the right of daughters to

inherit when there were no male heirs (Gen. xxxviii, 8; Num. xxvii, 1–11). In the light of all this new evidence it is clear that the criticism of the Pentateuchal legislation as too elaborate and as reflecting a much later date than that of Moses will have to be reconsidered. The criticism may still apply to some of its provisions, but it has been truly remarked that "we are learning that much of what was formerly regarded as late and purely idealistic legislation in the Mosaic Law is of great antiquity," and that "we may no longer regard ritual prescriptions or technical terms, which we find in the Priestly Code, as therefore necessarily originating in the post-exilic period." [1] Even if the final form is late there is a greatly increased possibility that the substance of this legislation may be early. Therefore, while we must accept provisionally the conclusions on which Hebrew scholars are generally agreed, we must recognize that they must be liable to revision.

If, however, we are to accept the verdicts of literary criticism as they are at present stated let us consider how we stand. That the Hebrews brought any literature of their own from Egypt is not *a priori* impossible, but there is no evidence of it, and it can hardly be considered probable. The little community which went down into Egypt no doubt had traditions of their forefathers, but are not likely to have had written records. They *could* have compiled chronicles while they were in Egypt, but there are no signs of them; on the contrary, the record of their life in Egypt is a blank until the eve of the Exodus. The conditions of the Exodus would not have been favourable to the bringing away of written records, even if they had existed; and the conditions of the forty years' wanderings would have been even less favourable to composition. The nomad does not generally produce a literature. It is not until Canaan had been entered, till the confused period of fighting and conquest was over, till the people had begun to settle down

[1] J. A. Montgomery, in *Record and Revelation* (Oxford, 1938), p. 4; S. H. Hooke, *ib.*, p. 367.

in their cities, that the labours of the historian could be contemplated. Then the "Book of the Wars of Jehovah" might be taken in hand, and other records of which the names have not come down to us. The Hebrews would have seen literature around them in Egypt, they would see it practised by the Canaanites among whom and near whom they had settled; and there was no reason why they should not practise the art themselves. Fragments of such literature have come down to us in such compositions as the Song of Deborah and David's Song of the Bow, and how much more there may have been we can only guess.

We are asked, therefore, to substitute for the conception of five books, written as we have them now by or in the time of Moses, the conception of histories written in the ninth or eighth century on the basis of earlier records, and edited with copious additions (also very probably based on earlier records) about the fifth century. This, it should be observed, is not the rejection of a revealed truth in favour of a modern conjecture, but merely the substitution of one conception of the course of events for another. The Old Testament itself tells us nothing of its composition. While it stood by itself it was natural to take it as it stood, without question, though even then a dispassionate consideration of probabilities might have aroused doubts.[1] Now in the light of newly acquired knowledge we are not

[1] The application of internal criticism to the composition of the books of the Old Testament is not an invention of the nineteenth century. Sir Isaac Newton, in his *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St John* (London, 1733), makes the following sensible remarks:

"The race of the Kings of Edom, before there reigned any King over Israel, is set down in the book of Genesis [xxxvi, 31]; and therefore that book was not written entirely in the form now extant before the reign of Saul. The writer set down the race of those Kings till his own time, and therefore wrote before David conquered Edom. The Pentateuch is composed of the Law and the history of God's people together; and the history hath been collected from several books, such as were the history of the Creation, composed by Moses, Gen. ii, 4, the book of the generations of Adam, Gen. v, 1, and the book of the wars of the Lord, Num. xxi, 14. This book . . . was begun by Moses. And Joshua might carry it on to the conquest of Canaan. For Joshua wrote some things in the book of the Law of God, Josh. xxiv, 26 . . ., and Samuel had leisure in the reign of

only entitled but compelled to reconsider the earlier conceptions.

Such a reconsideration must affect two aspects of the books—their historical details and their moral teaching; and in both respects it may be suggested that the reconsideration brings gain. The more the history can be shown to comply with the canons of historical criticism applicable to other works and other peoples, the more we feel it to be consonant with God's ordinary methods of dealing with man. The more the story of Israel becomes a story of gradual progress, of progressive education, the more it appeals to us as true. In the Pentateuch as it stands there are things which offend our sense of historical probability, such as the ages of the patriarchs or the standing still of the sun over Gibeah; and there are things that offend our moral sense, such as the polygamy of the patriarchs, the traces of human sacrifices, and the cruelties practised upon captives and upon women and children. As details of a final and authoritative revelation these are hard to accept; as specimens of early history-writing, and as the customs of

Saul to put them into the form of the books of Moses and Joshua now extant."

The Book of Judges was compiled after the death of Samson out of the Acts of the Judges. "Several things are said to be done *when there was no King in Israel*, Judg. xvii, 6, xviii, 1, xix, 25, and therefore this book was written after the beginning of the reign of Saul. When it was written, the Jebusites dwelt in Jerusalem, and therefore it was written before the eighth year of David, 2 Sam. v, 8, and 1 Chron. xi, 6. [*N.B.* This does not appear sound.] All these books have been composed out of the writings of Moses, Joshua, and other records, by one and the same hand after the beginning of the reign of Saul and before the eighth year of David."

The books of Samuel were written by himself or his disciples. The books of Kings and Chronicles cite many authors. "These books were therefore collected out of the historical writings of the ancient Seers and Prophets . . . after the return from the Babylonian captivity." Ezra was the compiler of the books of Kings and Chronicles. He also collected the Prophets. "The book of Daniel is a collection of papers written at several times. . . . The first chapter was written after Daniel's death," also the fifth and sixth. Ezra seems also to have collected the Psalms.

Apart from the habit of attributing everything to a few well-known names (Moses, Joshua, Samuel, Ezra), which finds a parallel in the eighteenth-century habit of assigning all Italian pictures to a few well-known painters, this outline of the composition of the Old Testament is not so far from the conclusions of modern scholarship.

a people in an early stage of development, they are in accordance with what we find elsewhere. It is history, with the defects which are found in other ancient histories; it is moral teaching, but at a stage which was transcended as the process of education went on.

It is, indeed, by realizing how far the Israelites resembled the peoples among whom they lived that we shall best realize how far they came to differ from them. There is no occasion to hold that they were a unique people throughout, in the sense that their manners and customs, their moral and intellectual standards, were always different and superior. Such an assumption is constantly being brought up against instances of failure and backsliding. It is a series of ups and downs, of blacks and whites, which are difficult to credit. We should rather recognize that in many respects the Israelites were no better than their neighbours, but that they were gradually differentiated, and led through many failures to become the great teachers of the world.

Here archæology again comes to our help, and it has not always been recognized how powerful is its testimony to the moral superiority of Israel. Before the archæological era little or nothing was known of the religious beliefs of the nations adjoining Palestine. Now we have full accounts both of the ritual and of the mythology of Egypt and Babylonia. We know the legends of their pantheon; we have extensive ritual texts of both countries, also moral treatises, such as, in Egypt, the "Teaching of Ptah-hetep," and in Babylonia the story of Ahikar, of which an Aramaic translation is among the Elephantiné papyri. In respect of both of these countries there is much material for comparison with Hebrew religion. Of the Hittites we know less, but may be better informed when all the Boghaz-keui texts have been published. Of other neighbouring peoples, such as the Moabites and the Philistines, we know little beyond what can be learnt from the Hebrew Scriptures. But of the Canaanites at the time of the Hebrew invasion

of Palestine we now have an extraordinarily interesting picture in the Ras Shamra tablets.

Now of all these religions the common feature is their polytheism. It is true that each of them has a supreme God—Amon-Ra at Thebes, Thoth at Hermopolis, Enlil at Nippur, Ashur at Nineveh, Marduk at Babylon, Chemosh in Moab, El at Ugarit; and this has by some scholars been taken to point to an original monotheistic belief. However this may be, it is certain that in all these countries other gods and goddesses were, at the earliest date at which we know anything of them, associated with the supreme deity, and often acquired greater prominence in literature and worship. Thus in Egypt Osiris is often more prominent than Amon-Ra, and at Ugarit Baal and Asherah are more prominent than El. Another point to notice is the very local character of these gods. Each town in Mesopotamia and each district in Egypt had its own special god, just as Chemosh was the god of Moab or Milcom of Ammon. For none of these was any claim of universality made. The god was the god of the people, and when the people was defeated the god was defeated. "Where are the gods of Hamath and of Arpad? Where are the gods of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah?"

Now, how does this correspond with what we find in Israel? Not at all, if we take the view that from the days of Noah or of Adam the people who traced their descent through Abraham and Jacob not only worshipped Jehovah and Jehovah only, but regarded Him as the God of all the world. But is that a true view? With regard to the latter point, it is at least certain that the surrounding nations recognized no such claim. Mesha of Moab regards Yahweh as on a level with his own Chemosh—the god of Israel as Chemosh is the god of Moab; and this is plainly also the view of Sennacherib's ambassadors. The probability is that this was the original view of the Israelites themselves. Jacob makes a bargain with Jehovah: if He will prosper him in his way then Jehovah shall be his God,

as if he had a choice in the matter. Jehovah is the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, not of all the world. Laban has images, teraphim, which Rachel carries off, and Laban accuses Jacob of having stolen his gods. It was only gradually that the conception of a God Who was the God of all the earth arose, to compete with and eventually to replace the conception of a God who was the God of Israel, on whom Israel had an exclusive claim. The first expression of universality is in Amos:

> For Jehovah, the God of hosts, is he that toucheth the land and it melteth. . . . It is he that buildeth his chambers in the heaven, and hath founded his vault upon the earth; he that calleth for the waters of the sea and poureth them out upon the face of the earth; Jehovah is his name.

But more than this: one must not overlook the evidence, provided by the Old Testament itself, of the strong tendency to polytheism among the Israelites. The theme of the concurrent worship of Baalim and Ashtaroth, of the "groves" and "high places," runs through all the books of Kings. In Elijah's time the worshippers of Jehovah were a minority of seven thousand among all those who bowed their knees to Baal. It was not only Israel that "forsook all the commandments of the Lord their God, and made them molten images, . . . and made an Asherah, and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served Baal" (2 Kings xvii, 16). Hezekiah had to remove the high places and break the pillars and cut down the Asherah, and destroy the brazen serpent which the people worshipped. And Josiah, stirred by the book which the High Priest Hilkiah had found in the Temple, brought forth

> out of the temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made for Baal, and for the Asherah, and for all the host of heaven. . . . And he defiled Topheth, which is in the valley of the children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Molech.[1]

[1] 2 Kings xxiii, 4, 10.

It was indeed an inveterate polytheism against which the last good king of Judah had to take measures so strong and so extensive—and so ineffectual to eradicate practices deeply rooted in common usage. When, therefore, we read in the tablets of Ras Shamra of the worship of El, Baal, Asherat, Aliyan, and Dagon, we need not doubt that close parallels to this might have been found among the Hebrews. But what is more important is to note the constant reaction against it, and the rising of Israel to a conception of religion far higher than that of the Canaanites and the surrounding peoples. There was always at least a minority which upheld the worship of Jehovah, alongside of whom no rival was permitted. There was no female consort, no sons who were also gods, no legend of contests among the gods, no splitting of Tiamat to form the heaven and earth, or of Mot to cause the harvest. One has only to read the literature of Babylon or of Ugarit, and to compare it with Hosea and Amos, the earliest of the prophets, to realize the vast discrepancy. No doubt it was the prophets that marked this great ascendancy of Israel, but they did not wholly create it. The worship of Jehovah existed before them, and there were always those who observed it without any commixture with the polytheism existing side by side with it. It was one thing or the other; and it is the glory of the age of the prophets to have proclaimed in so triumphant a manner the unique superiority of the worship of Jehovah.

A curious proof of the persistence of polytheistic practices is given by the Elephantiné papyri (p. 229). Here, in a Jewish community settled in Egypt, we find the worship of Anath-Bethel and Anath-Yahu alongside of Yahweh, without any apparent feeling that this would be offensive to their brethren to whom they wrote at Jerusalem.

We can, therefore, accept the Ras Shamra evidence as throwing light on the beliefs which encircled the Israelites on their entry into Palestine, and thereafter had a constant attraction for them, persisting even to the latest days of

the Jewish kingdom. But we must also recognize the higher element which likewise persisted throughout, which we find embodied in Elijah and Elisha and the "sons of the prophets" in the northern kingdom, which from time to time rose to supremacy in Judah under kings such as Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah. This higher element found expression in the prophets; and in them, despite the constant refrain of "Howbeit the high places were not taken away: the people still sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places" (2 Kings xii, 3; xiv, 4; xv, 4), we see the emergence of Israel above its surroundings. So long as we had only the Old Testament narrative for our information the constant backsliding of the people, against which the prophets protested and the better kings took action, was not easily intelligible. It is archæology that has completed the picture for us, and has shown us the history of a people at first not differing greatly from the surrounding peoples, but with an impulse within it always pushing up towards a higher level. The lower levels remained, even up to the Captivity, and were encouraged by the practices of the surrounding peoples, but the higher elements gained fuller and greater expression in Hosea, Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and their fellows. It needed the Exile to tear the people as a whole from the polytheistic practices of their neighbours. After the Return we hear no more of Baal and Ashtoreth, nor of the women weeping for Tammuz whom Ezekiel in his vision had seen in the Temple (Ezek. viii, 14).

In addition to this evidence as to the relations of the Hebrews to the beliefs of the neighbouring peoples, we owe to archæology a much fuller picture of their whole historical setting. They are no longer an isolated people in a world of which almost nothing was known. We now have full knowledge of the civilization of Egypt, on the one hand, and can form our own opinions as to the extent to which Hebrew thought and customs were

affected by it, as to which different scholars hold different views. On the other side we have at least an outline of the history of Mesopotamia from the origins of life in the delta of the great rivers, and we know much of the religion of the people, their ritual and their beliefs, as well as of their social and economic system. We have recovered their narratives of the Creation and the Deluge, and have excavated their ziggurats, which show the nature of the Tower of Babel. We have discovered houses at Ur of the very period of Abraham, and streets which he may have seen and walked in. Of the peoples living still nearer to Palestine we have learnt much, the Mitannians in the neighbourhood of Haran, the Hittites and the Horites and the Amorites, who were previously mere names to us. We are able to see something of the movements of the peoples in the second millennium, the Hyksos invasion of Egypt, the great irruption of the Sea Peoples, which seems to have destroyed the earlier Hittite empire and to have disturbed all the populations of the Nearer East. Among all these movements we dimly discern the Apiriu of the Egyptian records, the Habiru of the Babylonian, Hittite, and Syrian documents, who may be brought into connexion with the Hebrew invasion of Palestine, the conditions of which are illustrated by the Tell el-Amarna letters.

It must, of course, be admitted that there is still much obscurity as to the exact bearing of all this on Hebrew history. The name Habiru was first made known in the Amarna letters, where they are mentioned among the intruders who were disturbing Palestine. But since then the name has appeared in Babylonian texts and documents from Mari (see p. 167) of the Hammurabi period and even earlier, in the Hittite records from Boghaz-keui and the Hurrian texts from Nuzi, while the Apiriu appear in Egyptian records as late as the twelfth century. The name, the meaning of which is said to be "wanderers," is therefore of much wider connotation than the people

whom we know as the Hebrews, although it became particularly associated with them. There seems also to be some connexion between the Habiru and the Hurrians, though possibly only as both partaking in the great movement of peoples to which we have referred.

Indefinite though much of this new information is, it is nevertheless surely a gain that we should be able to see Hebrew history in its true setting. Assuredly there is nothing in this which need disturb the faith of the weakest. We see a small tribe, growing to be a people in the midst of other tribes and peoples more or less like themselves. To them, no doubt, they appeared wholly like; but in their own records we see the germ of a higher type of religious belief, gradually strengthening and expanding until it is embodied in the great declarations of the prophets and poets, which are among the noblest manifestations of human thought and religion. Such a conception of progressive revelation and education is in accordance with what appears to be the general principle of the universe; and it is surely satisfactory to find that this is the conclusion to which the dispassionate study of the results revealed by archæological research seems to lead.

I am permitted to support these conclusions by quoting the opinion of a scholar who will not be suspected of undue adherence to traditional views: [1]

> In the main, then, the result of fresh knowledge gained by the researches of the last decade has been to substantiate the historicity of the background of the patriarchal narratives of Genesis, and of the traditions relating to the Exodus and the settlement in Canaan. The present form of the tradition has evidently undergone considerable modification and idealization, but the material lying behind the tradition clearly rests upon very early sources, and it is not impossible that these may have been written sources. . . .
>
> The outstanding result of recent archæological research has been the reconstruction, in far fuller detail than has hitherto

[1] Professor S. H. Hooke, in a most valuable chapter on "Archæology and the Old Testament" in *Record and Revelation*, pp. 364, 372.

been possible, of the whole background of Hebrew history from the fourteenth century to the sixth. The Hittites, their history, their laws, and even their myths, have emerged from the obscurity of ages. The Hurrians, hitherto unknown as a factor in the history of the ancient Near East, have suddenly leaped into importance for the narratives of Genesis. Much that was obscure in the Tell el-Amarna letters at the time of their discovery has been explained in the light of new knowledge concerning the movements of peoples during the first half of the second millennium B.C., and especially concerning the Habiru. The brilliant French excavation of Ras Shamra, the site of the ancient city of Ugarit, has made available a mass of new knowledge relating to the early history of religion in Canaan which it will take many years to explore and evaluate, but already its effects on the interpretation of the Old Testament have been deeply felt. One of the most important results of the fuller light on the early history of law in the ancient Near East has been the change of perspective with regard to the source-criticism of the Old Testament, and especially of the Pentateuch. While the main lines of this criticism are not seriously challenged . . . the interest of students has shifted to the task of examining the material contained in the documentary sources in the light of new historical knowledge.

It is safe to say that the general effect of the discoveries of the last decade has been to confirm the substantial accuracy of the picture of life in Canaan in the second millennium B.C., as described in the patriarchal narratives of Genesis, and to provide some ground for the view that written sources for this period may have existed at a much earlier date than has been commonly supposed.

It is therefore legitimate to say that, in respect of that part of the Old Testament against which the disintegrating criticism of the last half of the nineteenth century was chiefly directed, the evidence of archæology has been to re-establish its authority, and likewise to augment its value by rendering it more intelligible through a fuller knowledge of its background and setting. Archæology has not yet said its last word; but the results already achieved confirm what faith would suggest, that the Bible can do nothing but gain from an increase of knowledge.

Archæology has made no considerable contribution to the text of the Old Testament. The general position with regard to the text may be noted briefly here. The accepted Hebrew text (known as the Massoretic text, from the scholars called Massoretes who edited it about the seventh century in accordance with the traditions preserved in the Talmud) is believed to have been fixed by a synod of Jewish scholars at Jamnia after the fall of Jerusalem, about A.D. 100. Owing to the Jewish habit of destroying manuscripts as soon as they had suffered from wear and tear, no early copies of the Hebrew text have survived; the earliest now extant are assigned to about the ninth century of our era. On the other hand, owing to the extreme care taken in transcribing manuscripts, the text is believed to have been handed down with no substantial alteration since its settlement about A.D. 100. For the history of the text before that date there is the evidence of two translations, the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Greek Septuagint, of which the former represents the text of the Pentateuch as it existed at the time of the disruption in 408 B.C., while the latter was the work of the Hellenized Jewish community at Alexandria, the Pentateuch being translated in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–246 B.C.) and the other books at various times between then and the second century B.C. So far as the Pentateuch is concerned there is little discrepancy, but in a few cases the agreement between the Samaritan and Greek translations in some readings of no great importance seems to prove that the Massoretic Hebrew is incorrect. For the rest of the Old Testament Samaritan testimony is lacking, since the other books, not having been adopted into the canon before the disruption, were never accepted by the Samaritans; but the Septuagint shows some very marked divergences, especially in the books of Samuel, Job, and Jeremiah. The Septuagint also includes those books which now form our Apocrypha, which were rejected by the Jamnia Synod and consequently were relegated to a

lower position by Jerome, Luther, and the translators of our English Bible. How far the divergences of the Septuagint are due to the translators having had a different text before them, and how far to their own errors or to editorial alterations, is the most difficult question in Old Testament scholarship, and fresh evidence would be exceedingly welcome; but very little has been as yet forthcoming.

The only definite contribution on this head made by archæology is the discovery of part of the original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus, described above (pp. 252–255). This, so far as it goes, tends to warn against too great trust in the accuracy of the Septuagint. No doubt such a warning is necessary, for the Hebrew scholarship of the Septuagint translators is certainly not always impeccable; but it does not go far towards settling the main question. For the rest, the new evidence is of value only for the establishment of the text of the Septuagint itself. Here the papyri and the Freer manuscripts have rendered substantial service, especially in providing earlier evidence for the book of Genesis, where our earliest vellum manuscripts, the Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, are almost wholly lacking, and also by giving us a portion of Daniel in the original Septuagint version, whereby to check the accuracy of the single previously existing Greek manuscript of it. But these have been sufficiently described in the two previous chapters, and it is not necessary to say more.

Certain discoveries have been made of books which by their titles would appear to belong to the Old Testament period, such as the Book of Enoch, the fourth Book of Esdras, and the Ascension of Isaiah; but since they relate rather to the context of the New Testament, and were probably for the most part written after the beginning of the Christian era, it will be convenient to consider them with the other non-canonical literature in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XII

ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERY AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

The contribution of modern discovery to the criticism of the New Testament is of a different character from that which has been described in the previous chapter in relation to the Old Testament. It has brought less new information as to the setting of the New Testament narrative, and much more as to the history and text of the books themselves. This information comes wholly from manuscripts, some discovered as the result of excavation, like the tablets of Mesopotamia, others found on the shelves of Eastern libraries where they had escaped notice.

It will be convenient to deal first with the discoveries of works which illustrate the early history of Christianity and the circumstances amid which the canonical literature originated and made its way. This contributes something to the evidence for the authenticity and general integrity of the canonical books, which is the next point to be considered. Finally there is the evidence with regard to the actual text of the books, which is the subject on which there is the greatest quantity of new material.

The circumstantial literature falls into two main classes. There is first the literature which, taken at its face value, claims to give us information as to the life and teaching of our Lord or the position of the Early Church; and secondly the apocalyptic literature, which may perhaps be said to claim to be inspired fiction, revealing a picture of things to come with a view to edification. We know, of course, that the four canonical Gospels did not always stand alone. St Luke himself, in the prologue to his Gospel, refers to the attempts of many to record our Lord's life. Criticism also discerns, from matter common to Matthew and Luke

which is not to be found in Mark, the existence of another very early document embodying important parts of our Lord's teaching. There are also references in early literature to books now lost, such as the Gospel according to the Hebrews (a possible source of the *pericopé adulteræ*, John vii, 53–viii, 11), the Gospel according to the Egyptians, the Protevangelium of James, Gospels connected with the names of Peter, Philip, Thomas, Matthias, Barnabas, and Nicodemus, and so on. Some of these (for instance, the Gospel of Peter) were definitely heretical and tendentious in character, others purely romances (becoming more extravagant as time went on); none seem for any length of time to have challenged the supremacy of the four narratives which by the second century had been accepted as authoritative.

At the same time it stands to reason that there must have been other sayings and doings of the Master, preserved orally or in writing, which were not recorded by the Four. The last verse of the Fourth Gospel says so in so many words, and St Paul quotes one in Acts xx, 35. May not some of the sayings attributed to him in other writings be authentic? There is, for example, the incident which in Codex Bezæ is inserted after Luke vi, 4: "The same day, beholding one working on the Sabbath, he saith unto him, Man, if thou knowest what thou doest, thou art blessed; but if thou knowest not, thou art accursed and a transgressor of the law." Or there are the quotations in the Second Epistle of Clement (see p. 244), where new sayings occur among several that are old. Several sayings are also quoted by Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and Clement of Alexandria has some which are only variants of passages in the canonical Gospels, but some also that are not.

Of the additions made to this class of literature by recent discoveries the most important, as giving the greatest impression of possible authenticity, are the British Museum fragments of a new Gospel and the Oxyrhynchus Logia

(pp. 214–217). The new Gospel is unquestionably of early date, since the manuscript is of the first half of the second century, which makes a first-century origin for the work itself almost certain; and it has a simplicity and directness of style which places it alongside the synoptic narratives. The Logia, though more mystical in style, are not more so than some other sayings which have early attestation. Proof of authenticity is unattainable, but at least these stories and sayings are examples of those which were current among the Christian community in the generation or two after the Apostles.

Of the literature of the sub-apostolic age not professing to be records of our Lord's life the most notable gains are in respect of Hermas, Barnabas, the Didaché, and the Apology of Aristides. The Shepherd of Hermas, a work which had great popularity in the Early Church, as appears from frequent references to it and quotations from it in the early Fathers, was known only from Latin and Ethiopic translations, until the discovery of about a quarter of the Greek text in the Codex Sinaiticus, and of nearly the whole of it in the late Athos manuscript, of which the existence was made known by Simonides and Lambros. Since then several papyrus fragments have come to light, earlier in date even than the Sinaiticus, the most important being the Michigan papyrus described above (p. 220). The Epistle of Barnabas was known in its entirety only after its discovery by Tischendorf in the Codex Sinaiticus, to which has since had to be added the later copy included in the manuscript from which Bryennius published the Didaché. The Didaché itself (which is connected with Barnabas from the fact that both contain the passage concerning "The Two Ways") is wholly new; but its character and importance have been sufficiently discussed in Chapter IX. The Apology of Aristides is also, to all intents and purposes, new matter, for though it actually existed, embedded in the romance of *Barlaam and Josaphat*, it was not known for what it is until the discovery by Dr

Rendel Harris of the Syriac translation of it at Mount Sinai. These all make a substantial addition to the literature of the sub-apostolic age, previously represented mainly by the Epistles of Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp, and the Letter to Diognetus.

The other class of new literature, the apocalyptic, gives us no additional knowledge of facts, but illustrates one aspect of the religious thought of the time, from shortly before the Christian era to shortly after it. This is not the place for a study of the subject of Jewish and Christian Apocalypses; but for a comprehension of Jewish thought at the time of our Lord's life on earth—of its beliefs, hopes, and aspirations—it is essential. Even a slight acquaintance with them will convince the reader of the immeasurable superiority of the canonical Apocalypse of St John. The new additions include something over a quarter of the Greek original of the Book of Enoch, about half of the Apocalypse of Peter, and about one-sixth of the Ascension of Isaiah. In addition mention should be made of the discovery by Mr R. L. Bensly in 1875, in a manuscript at Amiens, of a large missing fragment of the remarkable apocalyptic book which is included in our Apocrypha as 2 Esdras and in the Latin Bible as 4 Esdras. The newly discovered fragment is included in the Revised Version of the Apocrypha as chapter vii, 36–105.

So much for the additions to our knowledge of the literature of the sub-apostolic age. The next point is the additions to the evidence of the authenticity and integrity of the canonical books themselves. The nineteenth century passed through a period of acute scepticism on this point. It began with the 'Tübingen School' of F. C. Baur and his disciples (1831 and onwards), who propounded a theory of an internecine hostility between the parties of Paul and Peter, and denied the authenticity of any books that did not fit in with this theory. Nine of the Pauline Epistles (all except Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians) were declared not to be genuine; also Acts and

1 Peter, together with the Epistles of Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp. None of the Gospels was allowed to be earlier than the second century, and the Fourth Gospel was assigned to the second half of that century. Besides the four Epistles of Paul, only the Apocalypse was allowed to retain a place in the first century. This doctrine had a great vogue in Germany and among the blinder admirers of German scholarship in this country, and it is not surprising that some enthusiasts tried to improve upon it. The game of disintegration is an easy one to play; and the process did not cease till, in the Dutch school of van Manen, all the Pauline Epistles were declared to be pseudepigraphs, emanating from a Pauline school far on in the second century.[1] It is a besetting sin of much 'advanced' criticism to form a theory first, and then to declare spurious any evidence that does not agree with it.

It is not to be understood that all Continental scholarship went to these lengths, still less that these doctrines were generally accepted in this country, where the leading Biblical scholars were such men as Lightfoot, Salmon, and Sanday; but they represent the prevalent tendency, which was not sensibly checked until Adolf Harnack, universally regarded as the leading German theological scholar of his day, declared in the preface to his *Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius* (1897) that

> in all main points and in most details the earliest literature of the Church is, from a literary-historical point of view, trustworthy and dependable. In the whole New Testament there is apparently only one single writing which can be called pseudonymous in the strictest sense of the term, namely the Second Epistle of Peter.

He also declared that the traditional chronology was in the main to be accepted. This was in effect the view which the leading English scholars had always held; but hence-

[1] Those who are anxious to study these aberrations of a misguided criticism will find them set out in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* (1899–1903), in the appropriate articles.

forth the traditional view became respectable, although a wide door was left open for discussions of the origin, composition, precise dates, and integrity in details of the several books.

In the forty years since Harnack's pronouncement the trend of discovery has been entirely to support his view. This is especially so with regard to the dating of the Gospels. If there was one point on which the advanced school felt more confident than another it was the late date of the Fourth Gospel. Even after Harnack's expression of opinion Schmiedel in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* refused to place it earlier than A.D. 132. It is, therefore, satisfactory to find that it is precisely in the case of the Fourth Gospel that the new evidence for a first-century date is the most convincing.

So far back as 1880 the discovery of the Armenian version of St Ephraem's commentary on the Diatessaron (shortly to be followed by the discovery of two manuscripts of an Arabic version of the Diatessaron itself) had confirmed Lightfoot, as against the author of *Supernatural Religion*, in maintaining that Tatian's work was a harmony of the four canonical Gospels, and that its existence proved that by the third quarter of the second century these four Gospels not only existed, but were recognized as *par excellence* the authoritative records of our Lord's life. That would in itself be sufficient to put back the Fourth Gospel at least to the first half of the century. The evidence now available, however, carries the proof considerably farther back. The Rylands Library fragment (p. 226), small as it is, suffices to show that in the first half of the second century a copy of that Gospel was circulating in provincial Egypt; while the Unknown Gospel of the British Museum seems to show that by the same time the Fourth Gospel was not only in existence, but also had been utilized, along with the Synoptic Gospels, to form a new narrative of our Lord's life. It is true that the dating of both of these manuscripts rests upon the evidence of hand-

writing alone; but this is at any rate objective evidence, not resting on theological prepossessions, and since it is accepted by all those who have had most experience in dating papyrus hands, it may fairly be regarded as valid. If so the date of the Gospel itself must on all grounds of probability be put back into the first century, in order to allow time for the work to get into circulation; and a date towards the end of that century is what Christian tradition has always assigned to it.

With regard to the other books of the New Testament there is not much to say. No one doubts that the Synoptic Gospels belong to a period perceptibly earlier than the Fourth Gospel, so that the traditional dates round about the fall of Jerusalem remain approximately the latest possible; and the dating of Luke carries with it that of Acts. For the Pauline Epistles the only new evidence is that they were circulating as a collection by the end of the second century, and that this collection included Hebrews, but apparently not the Pastoral Epistles. The extravagant theories of the Baur-van Manen schools have fallen to pieces from their own inherent improbabilities; but the discussion on other grounds as to the precise order of the Epistles and the direct Pauline authorship of some of them is unaffected in either direction. For the Catholic Epistles there is no new evidence, and for Revelation none that affects its date or authorship.

But besides confirming the traditional dating, and thereby also the authenticity of the canonical books, the new evidence tends to confirm the general integrity of the text as it has come down to us. Until a few years ago the earliest evidence for the text of the New Testament, apart from a few quotations in early writers, was that of the great vellum codices of the fourth century. The recent discoveries of papyrus fragments, notably that of the Chester Beatty papyri in 1931, carries the evidence back by about a century, and by implication for a generation or two more. The interval then between the dates of

original composition and the earliest extant evidence becomes so small as to be in fact negligible, and the last foundation for any doubt that the Scriptures have come down to us substantially as they were written has now been removed. Both the *authenticity* and the *general integrity* of the books of the New Testament may be regarded as finally established.

General integrity, however, is one thing, and certainty as to details is another; and it is under the heading of what is generally known as textual criticism that the greatest amount of new evidence has to be recorded. To make its effect intelligible a summary of the previous situation is necessary.

Up to the year 1881 English readers were dependent for their knowledge of the Bible on the Authorized Version of 1611. Very fortunate they were to have so noble a translation, itself a model of the finest English prose; and very deep and in every way beneficial was the impression made by it on English religion, thought, language, and literature. It was, however, a translation made from an imperfect Greek text. The first printed Greek New Testament, that edited by Erasmus in 1516, was based on a small handful of late manuscripts which chanced to be accessible to him at the time when he was invited to produce it. This Greek text, only slightly improved in later editions, was (with the assistance of Latin translations) the text translated by Tyndale, Coverdale, and Matthew, up to and including the Great Bible of 1539, the first to be placed in every church in the country by official command. In 1550 a somewhat improved Greek text was produced by the French printer, Robert Estienne, or Stephanus; and this became the standard Greek text (the Received Text, as it is commonly called) for the next three centuries. It is this that underlies the English Geneva Bible of 1557–60, the Bishops' Bible of 1568, and the Authorized Version of 1611; and it was this that continued to be printed in all editions, with negligible exceptions,

both in this country and abroad, until the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when the movement for the production of a revised text, based upon more numerous and older authorities, began to take effect.

The manuscripts consulted by Stephanus, though more numerous than those used by Erasmus, were nevertheless few in number (about fifteen) and almost all late in date. One early manuscript, the Codex Bezæ, was, indeed, used, but only very slightly, probably because of its peculiar character, as to which more will be said later; for the rest, they represented the type of text which had become standardized in the Byzantine Church in the course of the Middle Ages. Now, it is a well-established fact, seen in classical as well as sacred literature, that a text handed down through a succession of hand-written copies is bound to suffer in course of time. Mistakes are made, repeated, multiplied, wrongly corrected; and editorial alterations are apt to be made in the interests of greater intelligibility. This is particularly liable to happen in texts so constantly used and reproduced as the books of the New Testament; and it is a fact, traceable now through many hundreds of manuscripts from the fourth century to the sixteenth, that in the course of time, by gradual and almost insensible revision, a type of text was established in the Greek Church which differs in countless small details from the text as found in the earliest, and presumably the most authentic, manuscripts. General integrity, as has been said, is assured, but variations in minor detail are plentiful.

The evidence for this was only gradually accumulated. Only sixteen years after the issue of the Authorized Version the first early manuscript of the Greek Bible to be well known and freely consulted by scholars came to England. This is the Codex Alexandrinus, a manuscript of the fifth century, now in the British Museum. Its arrival, and the publication of its readings, which showed many divergences from the text of Stephanus, started a search for manuscripts

of the Bible, and especially of the New Testament, which continued for the next two centuries, until by 1830 lists had been compiled which included about five hundred copies of the Gospels, with lesser numbers of other books. Then followed attempts, first by Lachmann and subsequently by Tregelles and Tischendorf, to form a revised Greek text, based upon the evidence of the earliest manuscripts, just as would be done by the editor of a classical Greek author.

It was, however, Tischendorf's discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus in 1859 (see p. 231) that brought this movement to a head. A few years later (1867) he was able to produce an edition of the Codex Vaticanus which for the first time made the evidence of that great manuscript available in a fairly trustworthy form. These two manuscripts, earlier by a century than any manuscript previously known, combined to show a text differing in many details, not only from the late Byzantine text represented by the Received Text and the Authorized Version, but even from the Codex Alexandrinus, which in the Gospels appears to represent an early stage in the process of revision which ultimately produced the Byzantine text. It was a text which, on the ordinary principles of textual criticism applied to the editing of ancient texts in general, had strong claims to preference; and it is not surprising that it was felt urgent to produce a revised Greek text of the New Testament to replace that of Stephanus, and also a revised English translation based upon this revised text. The first demand was met by the Greek edition of Westcott and Hort, the second by the Revised Version of the New Testament, both published in 1881.

The principles of textual criticism, when the text of an author depends on a number of manuscripts, require (1) a grouping of manuscripts according to their affinities (*i.e.*, according as they appear to have descended from a common ancestor later than the original author's autograph); (2) an estimation of the comparative merit of these

groups, taking into account both the age of the authorities included in them and the internal evidence of probability and quality. Certainty is not obtainable in this way, for even if one group seems to be generally superior to another it will not always be right; but it is the best general guide that an editor can have to work on. On these lines Westcott and Hort, building upon foundations already laid by Bengel, Semler, and Griesbach in the eighteenth century and by Lachmann, Tregelles, and Tischendorf in the nineteenth, divided the authorities for the text of the New Testament into four groups: (1) the great mass of later manuscripts and translations embodying the standard Byzantine text, which they called *Syrian*, believing it to have had its origin in a revision begun at Antioch in the time of Chrysostom; (2) a small group, headed by the Vatican and Sinaitic codices, and supported by a number of early fragments, a few later manuscripts which appeared to have escaped revision, and the Coptic versions, to which they gave the name of *Neutral*, believing it to have come down without substantial change or editorial rehandling from the originals; (3) a small and not very important group which they called *Alexandrian*, characterized by minor stylistic variations from the Neutral type, which they attributed to the scholarship of Alexandria; (4) a group, important from its early attestation, but suspect on account of its marked divergence from all other groups, headed by the Græco-Latin Codex Bezæ and some other Græco-Latin manuscripts, and including the Old Latin version, with some support from the Syriac, and the quotations of many of the early Fathers, especially Cyprian; to this group, on account of its predominantly Latin attestation, the name of *Western* was given. On this basis readings which had only Syrian support were ruled out, as of a secondary nature, not being found in any patristic quotations before the late fourth century; readings with Western support were generally (but not quite always) rejected, in spite of their early attestation,

as showing signs of free handling of the text by editors exercising a good deal of licence; and faith was generally pinned on the Neutral group, and especially and pre-eminently on the Codex Vaticanus. On these principles Westcott and Hort's own text was formed; and although the English Revisers did not follow them wholly, yet in the main they accepted their estimate of the authorities, and the Revised Version represents in the main a text based upon the group of authorities headed by the Vaticanus. Some readings of this group which are not incorporated in the text, and some of the more noteworthy readings of the Western group, appear in the margin.[1]

Such then was the position in 1881. The theories of Westcott and Hort were at first vehemently assailed by those who were unwilling to accept the dethronement of the Received Text; but before long it was recognized that they were only following the established principles of textual criticism, and the secondary character of the Byzantine text is now generally admitted. There was, however, more serious criticism by a number of leading scholars who were impressed by the early character of the evidence for the Western text; and textual controversy from 1881 to the present date has mainly turned on the comparative claims of the Neutral and Western types of text. For the decision of this controversy the evidence of new witnesses was obviously of high importance, and the main interest to Biblical scholars of all the discoveries that have been made since 1881 has been their bearing upon this issue.

The first discovery, that of the Sinaitic manuscript of the Old Syriac version (see p. 236), tended to reinforce the champions of the Western text, for in several passages it agreed with the Latin manuscripts, or some of them, and in others it had readings of the same character, and which

[1] The Greek text underlying the Revised Version was printed by the Oxford University Press in 1881, and reprinted in 1910 with a select apparatus of various readings by Professor A. Souter, which is the handiest student's edition of the Greek New Testament.

certainly differed from the Neutral manuscripts. It was therefore argued that the so-called Western text was not exclusively Western at all, but was an early type of text which had once been generally prevalent in the East as well as the West, but had gradually been ousted, first by the Neutral text and finally by the Syrian or Byzantine text. But this extension of the Western claim ultimately proved fatal to it, for when it was attempted to include in it every reading with early attestation which was not found in the Neutral authorities the so-called Western text lost all semblance of unity. Even among the Latin authorities alone the varieties were so many that it was impossible to form a satisfactory text out of them. As Jerome had said when he was invited by Pope Damasus to revise the extant Latin text (an invitation which was the origin of the official Vulgate version of the Roman Church), there were almost as many different texts as there were manuscripts. When, therefore, the Syriac versions were added, which often, if they varied from the Neutral text, did so in a different way from the Latin authorities, and also all non-Neutral readings which appeared in papyrus fragments from Egypt or in stray manuscripts from other sources, it became plain that all these could not be formed into a homogeneous text at all. It became gradually evident that the lines of Westcott and Hort's classification had been too sharply drawn. They had left no room for early readings which were neither Neutral nor Western; whereas the fact was that in the earliest days, owing to the way in which Christianity spread, often under persecution and without central control, there came into being a vast quantity of various readings, out of which various types of text, such as the Neutral and (true) Western families, were developed in ways that we are not able to follow. Once it was recognized that not every early non-Neutral reading was to be labelled as Western, it was possible to segregate (though still without much precision) a family with mainly Latin attestation which could legitimately be styled Western, while leaving over

other families and unattached readings in other parts of the Christian world.

One such other family emerged as the combined result of new discoveries and of intensive study of materials previously known. As far back as 1877 a group of four minuscule manuscripts had been noted by W. H. Ferrar and T. K. Abbott as containing a peculiar type of text, which could be traced to an archetype which must have been in southern Italy in the twelfth century. In 1902 another group of four manuscripts was indicated by Professor Kirsopp Lake as possessing a marked individuality, showing some affinity with the Ferrar group. These, however, were all relatively late manuscripts, and by themselves could not claim any great authority. They assumed greater importance when Lake showed that the Koridethi manuscript (see p. 258) had, at any rate in Mark, a text similar to those of these two groups; and an altogether new aspect was put on the matter when Dr B. H. Streeter in 1924 showed that the text which these authorities seemed to share in common could be identified with the text which Origen, as appears from his quotations, used in the later years of his life, when he was living at Cæsarea, in Palestine. Further importance and solidity were given to this family when it appeared that, at any rate in Mark (the Gospel in which this text has so far been principally studied), the same type of text was found in the Washington Gospels manuscript acquired by Mr Freer, and finally in the third-century papyrus of the Gospels in the Chester Beatty collection.

It is not to be understood that all the manuscripts that have been mentioned contain identical texts. The general tendency among manuscripts, increasing as time goes on, is for all to be assimilated to the form most generally prevalent—in this case the Byzantine, or Received, Text. It is agreement in the possession of a sufficient number of readings different from the Received Text which justifies the marking off of a number of manuscripts as a distinct family; and it is because the authorities that have been

named show to a marked degree a community of text that they are now grouped together under the title of the Cæsarean family. The evidence of the Chester Beatty manuscript (with other considerations) makes it probable that the family did not originate in the town after which it has been named, but rather in Egypt, whence it may have been carried to Cæsarea by Origen himself; but its subsequent domicile there and its use there by so distinguished a scholar as Origen justify the title, which is distinctive and therefore useful.

The finding of the Chester Beatty papyri is without doubt the most important discovery within the sphere of textual criticism since that of the Codex Sinaiticus. It has affected the subject in several ways. Bibliographically it has established on a firm basis the character and early date of the papyrus codex, and consequently the possibility at a far earlier period than had previously been supposed of bringing the four Gospels together in the compass of a single volume, and thereby assisting in their establishment as, jointly, the authoritative title-deeds of Christianity. Similarly, the Pauline Epistles could be treated as a single *corpus*. In this manner the way was paved for the formation of the canon of the New Testament, which became necessary when Christianity was adopted by Constantine as the official religion of the Roman Empire, and which we find realized in the Vatican and Sinaitic Codices. Next the Chester Beatty papyri have carried the evidence for the New Testament text back to the beginning of the third century, thus going far towards establishing, as has been argued above, a complete chain of proof of both the authenticity and the integrity of the sacred books. But, more than this, they, with the assistance of the other early papyri that have come to light during the last generation, have enlarged our knowledge of the conditions under which the New Testament Scriptures circulated in early days, out of which grew the textual problems with which scholars have to deal to-day.

It seems plain from this evidence that we cannot regard the textual tradition of the New Testament as having come down through a few main channels alone. The conditions surrounding the New Testament books during the first two centuries of their existence were unlike those of any other ancient book. They did not form part of the ordinary book trade. A classical author, such as Virgil or Horace, had his books copied by the professional copyists employed by the booksellers. Copies, the good quality of which could be guaranteed, were preserved in the great libraries; and it was mainly through these that the line of tradition descended. Copyists, moreover, though they might make mistakes, would not deliberately alter the text of their author. It was not their business to improve the style of Plato or Demosthenes, or to remove obscurities unless they thought they were due to the mistakes of previous copyists. With the Gospels and Acts things were different. They were not regarded as works of literature, but merely as records of facts and sayings needed for immediate practical use. With the Second Coming in sight there was no need to provide specially for an accurate transmission to a distant posterity. It was only important that the substance of the message should be there, as clearly conveyed as possible. Further, a large proportion of the early manuscripts must have been produced by untrained scribes. You could not go into a bookshop in Alexandria and order a copy of St John. Occasionally, no doubt, the services of a professional scribe who happened to be a Christian might be obtained, and some copies would have been made by, or under the supervision of, a scholar; but in many cases a provincial community, finding that its neighbour had acquired a copy of one or other of the Gospels, would have a copy made for its own use by anyone who could write. There was no centre from which officially authorized copies could be obtained, and there were often no means of having a copy revised by comparison with another.

All these circumstances must have encouraged the growth

of a large number of variant readings and have made it impossible to control them effectively. In the first days no need for such control or for any considerations of verbal accuracy would have been felt. As time went on, and the need arose for authoritative records of events for which eyewitnesses were no longer forthcoming, some attempts may have been made to compare the different copies in circulation; but such attempts could only have been made by local bishops or scholars, and the results would only have had local circulation. There is no trace of any effort being made in the first two centuries, in Alexandria or Antioch or Ephesus or Rome, to form a standard text of the Gospels, such as the Jewish scholars had established at Jamnia. Rather we seem to see the growth of local types of text in different parts of the world in which Christian communities were established. The home of the type of text which Westcott and Hort call Neutral seems to have been Egypt—probably, since it shows signs of critical scholarship, and had weight enough to be adopted in the two Coptic versions circulating respectively in Upper and Lower Egypt, at Alexandria. It was not, however, the only type of text in existence in Egypt. This is evident from the various papyrus fragments that have been brought to light of late years. A few of these seem to be in accord with the Neutral type; two (of Acts) are quite definitely Western; others are indeterminate. Moreover, as has been shown above, there is reason to believe that the Cæsarean text originated there; and we know, from the Chester Beatty manuscript, that it, or something like it, circulated there early in the third century. On the other hand, somewhere in the Latin-speaking world (perhaps more probably North Africa than Rome itself) a type of text came into existence characterized by sharp divergences, of addition and of variation, from all other types. The Syrian Church also seems to have had a text of its own, showing some signs of affinity with the Western family, which may perhaps be attributed to the influence of Tatian's Diates-

saron, but fundamentally different from that and with many agreements with the Neutral type, due presumably to an ultimately common origin. From the Church in Asia Minor we have no evidence, though it is difficult not to believe that it must have had an important share in establishing the text of the Pauline Epistles.

To the various causes militating against the early establishment of a standard official text must be added the persecutions by which the Church was from time to time afflicted. Normally the Roman administration was tolerant, and a Christian community, so long as it did not make itself obtrusive, would have had no difficulty in multiplying copies of such books as came within its reach. But occasionally there were persecutions, either local, due to the temper of a particular governor, or occasionally general, as under Decius and Diocletian. Among the discoveries in Egypt have been a number of documents, belonging to the period of the Decian persecution in A.D. 250, which are declarations, made by an individual before a special board appointed for the purpose, of the performance of sacrifice to the gods. How many of those who made these declarations had previously professed themselves Christians cannot be told, since it seems that declarations were required of all the population; but we know from Cyprian that some Christians fell away and sacrificed under such pressure, and that some obtained false certificates from magistrates that they had done so. At such times of persecution the sacred books were a particular object of search and destruction, as Eusebius expressly records with reference to the persecution under Diocletian; and the copies belonging to the churches, which might be expected to be better than those belonging to private individuals, would be the principal sufferers.

The centuries before the recognition of Christianity as the religion of the Empire must, then, be regarded as a period when variations in the text of the New Testament books came into existence in great numbers; and it was

only gradually that the different types or families that scholars now recognize came into existence. In the existence of various readings, therefore, there is nothing strange or disquieting. On the contrary, it is satisfactory to find that, in spite of all these varieties of detail, the substance of the record remains intact.[1] The general effect has, however, been to modify the classification and the conclusions of Westcott and Hort, and also of their critics, to some extent. With regard to the Syrian or Byzantine type of text, and its generally secondary character, there is, indeed, no great change of view; but all the other types are more or less affected. It no longer seems tenable to believe that the Neutral text, as found especially in the Codex Vaticanus, has descended virtually untouched by editorial handling from the first. Such a sheltered line of descent through a period of extensive variations would hardly be explicable in the absence of some centre where official copies were preserved—and of this there is no evidence and no probability. It is more probable that the Neutral text represents the outcome of editorial revision, and if the result is generally good that must be because the editorial work has been good.

On the other hand, the Western text, in the form in which it was put forward as a rival of the Neutral text, has suffered disintegration. It is plain that not all early non-Neutral readings can be brigaded together to form a homogeneous text of wide distribution, while it is true that there is a type of text, principally found among early Latin authorities, possessing a certain uniformity of character amid a great diversity of manifestation in detail. As to its claims to recognition different views have been held. It is most conspicuous in Luke and Acts, but its

[1] If anyone wishes to see just what the importance and character of these various readings amount to, I may perhaps be allowed to refer to a list of a hundred of the most striking variants in the Gospels and Acts, set out in full as an appendix to a book of my own, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts* (fourth edition, 1939). Another list is attached to the revised translation of the New Testament by the Rev. E. E. Cunnington (1935).

character in these two books is rather different. In Luke it mostly appears in a multitude of small variations, most of which fail to carry conviction, though in the narrative of the Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension it is conspicuous by its omission of several striking passages which occur in the Neutral and all later texts. In Acts the differences are greater, amounting at times to a different recension, and at times appearing to show a personal knowledge of local details. Here the only alternatives seem to be either that the Western narrative is the original, which has been cut down by the Neutral reviser, somewhat unaccountably and in a manner which does not appear in the other books; or that the original Neutral narrative has been revised by some one who had, or believed himself to have, special knowledge of the history contained in the book. The latter is the view more commonly taken, but the former has had powerful advocates.

The Western text having thus been reduced within narrower limits, there remains much more than is allowed for in Westcott and Hort's classification. The Syrian versions, instead of being regarded as a poor relation of the Western, appear rather to be a local type of text, fundamentally of much the same character as the Neutral, but with traces of Western influence, which may be attributed to the influence of Tatian if, as seems probable, his Diatessaron was compiled at Rome and was brought to Syria at a time when no translation of the four Gospels separately was yet in existence. Then there is the Cæsarean family, which has only assumed substance as a result of discoveries made since the time of Westcott and Hort; and there still remains an unassorted residue of variants which never crystallized into a family. In this regrouping of authorities Westcott and Hort's Alexandrian family seems to drop out. It never had more than a rather shadowy existence. No manuscript or version could be indicated as containing it; rather it consisted of a number of scattered readings found in authorities that generally agreed with the Vaticanus,

but here differed from it. Such readings may now rather be pooled in the general residuum of unclassified readings; and the title of Alexandrian can be better used to take the place of the somewhat question-begging title of 'Neutral.'

Such, then, is the general textual picture to which we seem to be led by the evidence which has poured in so plentifully in the last fifty years. It is apparent that certainty in details is unattainable. If no single manuscript and no one type of text can be shown to have preserved a textual tradition uncontaminated from its source, no single manuscript or type of text can be considered to monopolize the truth. As in the case of classical texts, while some authorities (generally but not always the oldest) are recognized as preserving on the whole the soundest text, authorities generally inferior may have at times the better reading. In general, Westcott and Hort's preference for this Neutral text—the text, that is, of the Codex Vaticanus and its associates—still holds the field, though not so exclusively as before. Future discoveries, of which the most to be desired are more manuscripts of the third or even of the second century and a substantial portion of the Diatessaron, sufficient to establish its true textual character, may clear up some of the problems which still beset scholars. Meanwhile the ordinary student of the Bible may be thankful for the constant increments of knowledge which serve to establish our study of the Scriptures on a firm foundation, and by which both the Old Testament and the New have greatly gained during the last generation.

TROY
R. Halys
HATTI
EUYUK
BOGHAZ-KEUI
ANATOLIA
SAKJE GEUZI
ZENJIRLI
DJERABIS (Carchemish)
TELL ATCHANA
ALEPPO
RAS SHAMRA
CYPRUS
KADESH
BEIRUT
DAMASCUS
BYBLOS
MEGIDDO
BEISAN
SAMARIA
JERICHO
JERUSALEM
LACHISH
DESE
CAIRO
MEMPHIS
EGYPT
FAYUM
OXYRHYNCHUS
TELL EL-AMARNA

THE NEAR

EAVATION SITES

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